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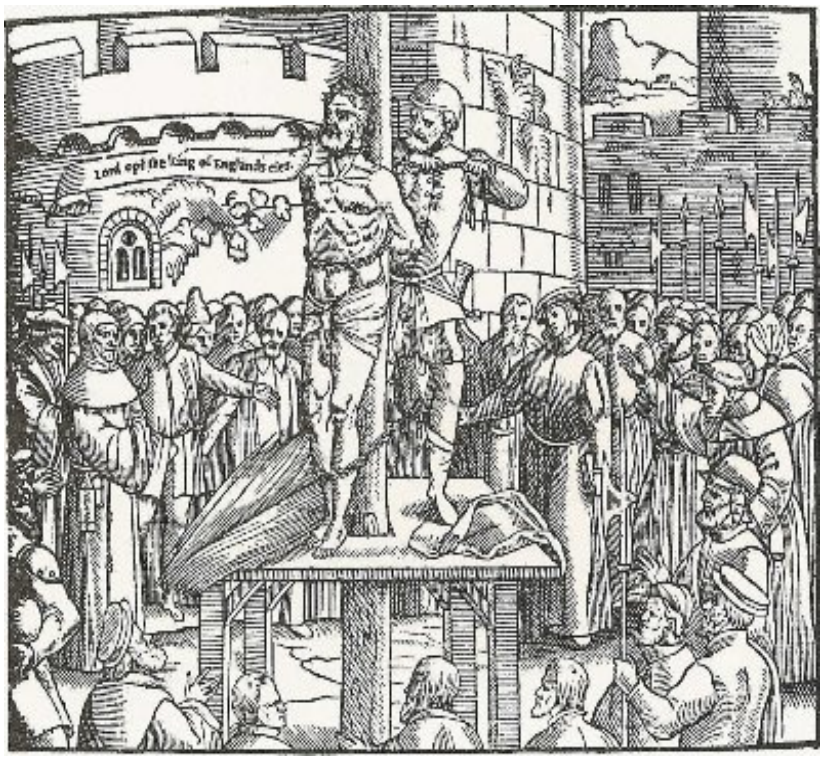
The Comparative Humanities Review



Translation: Comparative Perspectives

Vol. 3 (Spring 2009)

Edited by A. Joseph McMullen

The Comparative Humanities Review 3

Translation: Comparative Perspectives

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The Comparative Humanities Review is a student-run journal dedicated to the support and distribution of undergraduate scholarship in the humanities. We welcome submissions that are comparative in nature and employ any discipline in the humanities. Contributions should be written when the author is completing his or her undergraduate degree. For more information, contact the Editor-in-Chief by visiting the Web site below.

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Cover: Preparations to burn the body of William Tyndale from John Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*
Source: Lacey Baldwin Smith, *The Horizon Book of the Elizabethan World* (New York: American Heritage, 1967), 73.

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Translation: Comparative Perspectives

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Acknowledgements

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Introduction

Translation can be a dangerous act. Though translation may not be among the first acts that come to mind that elicit strong responses, translations frequently are among the most central texts in changing, rupturing, and overturning worldviews. The cover image of this volume illustrates the extent to which translation can provoke strong responses: it depicts the preparations to burn the body of William Tyndale, an early sixteenth-century reformist and one of the first to translate the Bible into English, an act which led to Tyndale's conviction as a heretic and ultimately led to his execution. Tyndale's goal in translating the Bible, like the writers of vernacular theology in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, was to make the Word available to all—something taken very seriously in England after the promulgation in 1409 of Archbishop Thomas Arundel's repressive decrees aimed especially at outlawing vernacular translation or commentary on scriptural texts without express license from the episcopate.[1]

Yet, if for Tyndale translation was a lethal occupation, more than half a millennium earlier it was used as an expression of nation-building on the very same soil. Translation was an important aspect of the Anglo-Saxon King Alfred's (ruled 871-99) comprehensive program of reform. One of the earliest extant English translators, King Alfred allegedly translated Gregory the Great's *Cura Pastoralis*, Boethius's *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, Augustine's *Soliloquiae*, and the first 50 Psalms. In his *Preface* to Gregory's *Cura Pastoralis*, Alfred writes, "Therefore it seems better to me, if it seems so to you, that we also should translate certain books which are most necessary for all men to know into the language that we can all understand…"[2] King Alfred writes that the state of learning had declined so badly in Anglo-Saxon England that very few could even translate a letter written in Latin. His educational program, the first of its kind in

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[1] Cf. Nicholas Watson, "Censorship and Cultural Change in Late-Medieval England: Vernacular Theology, the Oxford Translation Debate, and Arundel's Constitutions of 1409," *Speculum* 70 (1995), 822-864.

[2] Alfred, "*Preface* to the Translation of Gregory's *Pastoral Care*," *Old and Middle English c.890-c.1450: An Anthology*, Third Ed., ed. Elaine Treharne (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2010), 14-15.

the English-speaking world, would help build the English nation by promoting the vernacular as a useful and dignified medium.

So, translation can be dangerous, political, useful, community-building—what else? Translation is an art form but can also be a highly technical philological exercise. If I may, as a medievalist of Britain and Ireland, be permitted to give one more Anglophone example (the contributions of this volume will broaden the geographical reach and theoretical scope), while Seamus Heaney's translation of *Beowulf* won the Whitbread Book of the Year award, was lauded by literary critics, and revitalized interest in *Beowulf* among the general populace, academics and specialists in Old English bemoaned that Heaney did not do a sufficient job emulating traditional aspects of Old English verse, like apposition and style, while also criticizing translation decisions. Since translating Jacques Derrida's *Of Grammatology*, Gayatri Spivak has continued to assert that translation is the "most intimate act of reading."[3] Translation is personal, it is full of choices—whether to be literal or simply paraphrase, or whether to "domesticate" or "foreignize." Translation is everything all at once, something we do without realizing it, every time we speak or listen—a central activity which structures our daily lives.

Given the effect of the twenty-first century's heightened globalization, translation is a necessary facet of everything we do. As a hermeneutical process in understanding elements of a culture different from one's own, intellectuals from the ancient to the modern and the postmodern have addressed the theoretical practices and practicalities of translation. As such, translation is a vital exercise for student-scholars.[4] As each translator comes at his or her work from a unique angle based on the experiences of his or her life, translation and translation studies provides a vehicle for student-scholars to contribute unique scholarship to their fields, while also learning a great deal about their first language and themselves. This volume addresses many issues of translation—from papers which explore and practice the "best" methods of translating to intersemiotic translations of film. The papers of this volume are collected from two separate conferences, The Third

[3] See, for example, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Translation as Culture," *Parallax* 6.1 (2000): 13-24, at 20.

[4] See Nicholas Kupensky's paper "Students of the Foreign" in this volume.

Annual Comparative Humanities Review Conference at Bucknell University and a conference entitled From a Foreign Point and held at the Russian State University for the Humanities. Although separated by many miles, both conferences had similar goals: to bring together a number of top student-scholars working in the humanities to comparatively study the importance of translation in the twenty-first century by turning to the multiple meanings that the act of translation has had in the past. Each paper investigates the border spaces between languages, uncovering the crevices which allow the translation of the "source text" into the "target text." The volume as a whole presents the coming together of two conferences, conferences set in very different locations but which arrive at very similar conclusions: that translation studies is a burgeoning field that can teach us a great deal about a wide variety of disciplines and that student-scholars are very much at home within its bounds.

The Third Annual Comparative Humanities Review Conference

In her "Translation and Film: Slang, Dialects, Accents and Multiple Languages," Allison Rittmayer explores the introduction of language into film and the resulting nuances associated with this technological advance. Fundamentally a matter of translation, Rittmayer surveys the types of multiple language version films and how each attempts to translate the dialogue, plot, emotions, etc. of each movie. She then discusses issues in film translation, including the translation of slang, dialects, accents, and use of multiple languages within a single film, revealing the difficulties associated with film translation and offering insights into these problems.

James Rickard's "Philosophy, Abstract Thought, and the Dilemmas of Philosophy" presents the problem of translating the abstract vocabulary of many philosophical works. By examining terms like *nomos*, *Epochistik*, and *Dasein*, Rickard explains the "untranslatable" quality of many key philosophical concepts. In a further analysis of Nietzsche's writings, Rickard reveals how language works in conjunction with Nietzsche's philosophy, rather than as a vehicle for meaning. In this circumstance, the translator must carefully tread the line between faithfulness to content or form. In this discussion, Rickard asks the question of whether

philosophical translation should be primarily vocabulary based or include the philosopher's thought as a whole.

In "The Great War Seen Through the Comparative Lens," Steven L. McClellan comparatively reevaluates World War I by arguing that to fully understand the First World War we must examine the collective response of the national communities that fought it. The paper is an exercise in "cultural history," exploring multiple processes of signification revolving around the War and the social identities affected by it. McClellan explores the concept of Modernity from various perspectives and the connection between WWI and the "Modern." He goes on to suggest that the language of the national community, although supposedly singular to the specific community, is in reality a universal logic aimed at totalizing. From this perspective, different translations of meanings can be uncovered when thinking about the Great War.

Hallie Stebbins' "A Translation of Lu Xun's *'阿Q正传'*" is an exercise in both the theory behind translation studies and a practical translation. Surveying the different methods of translating Lu Xun's work by William Lyell and Xianyi Yang, Stebbins analyzes the problems in their translation methods while beginning to enunciate her own theory. In her translation, she seeks to foreignize rather than domesticate, choosing a passage from the source text which she did not understand in translation. Translating this passage herself, she makes the passage clearer while also encountering the many problems associated with Chinese translation.

In "Transference and the Ego: A (Psycho)Analysis of Interpsychic Translation," Lauren Rutter explores how translation is a necessary part of ordinary psychological development. By reading transference as a type of interpsychic translation (from the drive into language within the self and then again from language of the self into an outward expression to the analyst), she reveals how the unconscious is a language to be unraveled. However, simultaneously, the analyst can mistranslate the analysand's unconscious and/or get caught up in counter-transference. This not only puts the patient at risk, but could become too involved in the patient.

In Joey McMullen's "Overstepping Otherness: Christine de Pizan and Letitia Elizabeth Landon's Genealogical Retranslations

of Canonized Text," he explores what he calls "genealogical retranslation:" how the anxiety of influence forces authors to retranslate their predecessors in order to move forward and try to eclipse those of the past. In this paper, he explores how Christine de Pizan (a medieval French writer) and Letitia Elizabeth Landon (a Romantic poet) broke the bounds of not only the male canon but also patriarchal definitions of women and embraced, in the process, what Kristeva would call "feminine genius."

From a Foreign Point of View: Student Readings of Russian and American Culture

In "Do Russians and Americans View Space in the Same Way?" Evgeny Makarov explores the function of language as mediator of ideas in terms of conceptual categories of space as reflected in Russian and English. A distinction is made between *coordinate spatial relations* (distance, speed of motion and size, and mostly processed by the right hemisphere) and *categorical spatial relations* (mostly processed by the left hemisphere and categorized in languages). The paper focuses on categorical spatial relations, especially preposition use, descriptions of location with reference to body parts, and specific frames of reference. Makarov also discusses the importance of cardinal directions and explains spatial deixis. It is noted that deictic references in English are far more rigidly defined by the speaker's position than in Russian. For Makarov, English does not allow the speaker to shift the deictic center to any point other than where they are physically located, whereas Russian tends portray spatial scenes in fine detail.

Kseniya Bychenkova's "'May the Force Be with You:'" The 'Animatistic Minimum' in the Mythological and Religious Consciousness," examines the belief in an omnipresent force which fills the world and connects all human beings to everything else in the world. In a broad survey of non-Western cultures, Bychenkova discusses the different understandings of this force and many of its anthropological implications. Bychenkova also linguistically analyzes the many words which come to signify this impersonal force, mapping the evolution of these words across diverse cultures. The paper then, after revealing the broader suggestions of how the concept of "animatistic minimum" can be used to understand American religion today, reveals how George

Lucas translated this age-old spiritual concept in his *Star Wars* saga as The Force.

In Mark Winek's "Radio as a Tool of the State: Radio Moscow and the Early Cold War," he examines the role of Radio Moscow's broadcasts as a part of Soviet foreign policy from the end of the Second World War to the 1960s. By looking at the role of radio broadcasting, he explores a scantily studied, yet influential battle in the frigid war between Washington and Moscow. Beginning with the birth of broadcasting in the Soviet Union, he inspects the evolution of the state broadcasting apparatus up to the Khrushchev years, when it truly came to be a staple of the Soviet Union's international propaganda campaign. By analyzing the rapid evolution and massive government funding for Radio Moscow, Winek shows that the service was vital to propagating Moscow's foreign policies through its carefully honed message.

In "Tom Stoppard's *The Coast of Utopia* in Russia: Cultural Adaptation," Clara Leon explores the reception of Stoppard's Tony winning trilogy of plays. She argues that preunderstanding is an important hermeneutic device in appreciating the trilogy. The translation of understanding then, in Stoppard's plays, is highly reliant on the viewer's/reader's level of engagement with the source culture. Her analysis engages with various Russian perceptions of *The Coast of Utopia*, giving the plays a cultural context within her discussion. Further, she discusses the rift between preunderstanding and actual perception, noting the translation process which occurs when the play is viewed or performed.

Nick Kupensky's "Students of the Foreign" reaffirms the mission of the Comparative Humanities Review: allowing for the growth of the Student-Scholar through intellectual discourse and writing. By reading the differences between Student and Scholar as paralleling an authoritative meaning found in any text, Kupensky accepts the plurality of meaning and validates the research of Student-Scholars. He then asks what it means to be a Student of the foreign and reveals that for those of us who study that which is not our own – that which is alien, strange, different, or, simply, foreign – we are to be constantly reminded that we are going to be lifelong consumers of the knowledge of the other.

Translation and Film: Slang, Dialects, Accents and Multiple Languages

Allison M. Rittmayer
Bucknell University

The birth of the cinema was initially regarded with great promise as a universal method of communication. This was partially true in the era of silent films as there was no need for translation before the introduction of inter-titles. The images filmed may have contained distinct cultural markers, thus rendering them somewhat foreign to spectators outside of the source culture; however, these markers could be absorbed in the way a painting is absorbed. Without linguistic intrusion, it was possible for spectators of foreign films to simply identify characters in regards to their appearance. This identification could also be made easier if the spectator knew what culture the film was coming from, in the way that paintings are understood by virtue of the culture that produced them. More often than not though, early silent films portrayed subjects that did not need any cultural translation. The films of the Lumière Brothers capture events that cross cultural boundaries—the arrival of a train, children fighting, factories letting out. It was not until films began to take on narrative structures and incorporate inter-titles that translation became an issue.

Still in the silent film era, the introduction of inter-titles, narration or dialogue presented on a blank screen between segments of action, brought translation to film in a very basic way. Most inter-titles were not complex or lengthy in order to accommodate audiences of varying levels of literacy. This made translation somewhat easier because there was not as much need to translate style as is seen in the translation of literature. Aside from an absence of elaborate style (which was provided by the acting, rather than the inter-titles), the problems of translating inter-titles are the same problems seen in translating literature. The translator had to choose whether to pursue a word for word translation, or a translation based on the general sense or the inter-titles in their source language. The fact that inter-titles generally were descriptive of the actions carried out on screen may have aided translation because the action could clarify or support any difficulties found in the source text of the inter-titles.

With the introduction of sound, the universality of film was largely destroyed. This also provided the impetus for the creation of national cinemas; directors could now produce films that were specifically targeted to members of their own language group, which is a main component of national identity. As such, characters presented in films could take on distinct identities through their use of language. Every language has multiple forms, whether they differ by formality of tone, or regional pronunciation, or representation of other social characteristics. Suddenly, it became easy for directors to portray differences in characters by the way they spoke, rather through exaggerated actions, expressions, or costumes as in silent films. This also introduced a subtlety into character development because spectators were no longer presented with matter-of-fact inter-titles, which acted somewhat like footnotes to the film, explaining important details about the characters that could not be portrayed on-screen. This nuance did not immediately develop, and exaggeration of action and costume is still an integral part of character development in some modern-day comedies, however the introduction of sound eliminated the need for directors and actors to rely on exaggeration.[1]

[1] Exaggeration has mainly been replaced by stock characters, which retain boiled-down elements of exaggerated characters from the early days of cinema.

In the beginning, sound films did attempt to retain some of their universality through the production of multiple language versions.[2] MLVs were made through the process of "double shooting," or shooting the same scenes on the same sets but with different casts and crews representative of the language versions to be produced. In some cases, multilingual actors were able to be used, so the same cast would appear in two or three language versions, as was the case for Jean Renoir's *The Golden Coach*, which was filmed in English, French and Italian.[3] The translation of the actual scripts may have given the translated films a higher degree of fidelity to the originals than present day dubbed or subtitled productions. This increased fidelity would come from two sources. First, the translation of the script would allow for a more imitative target text because the translator would not be worried about making the dubbing match the lips of the actor, nor would the translator need to try and paraphrase the dialogue or narration in order to make the subtitles fit on the screen and keep up with the pace of the action. Additionally, in the cases where multilingual actors were used, they would have some access to the source text, as well as the target texts they were trying to produce. Unlike voice actors reading a script for a dubbing, the multilingual actors would not need to simply rely on the target text produced by the translator. The production of such multilingual films seems very similar to translation by committee to me because the actors would be aware of discrepancies between the translations and the source text, and could provide recommendations on the translation in the same way that actors generally have some input on any script they work with.

There are two other types of multiple language version films: remakes and double versions. Remakes are simply instances where a production company will purchase the rights to a foreign film and readapting the scenario to fit the target culture.[4] The fact that this is called "remaking" or "adaptation" implies that there are varying degrees of fidelity to the original film in such productions. An example of a remake would be the American movie *Three Men*

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[2] Marc Betz, "The Name above the (Sub)Title: Internationalism, Coproduction, and Polyglot European Art Cinema," *Camera Obscura*. 16.1 (2001): 28.
[3] Ibid., 28.
[4] Ibid., 29.

and a Baby,[5] a remake of the French comedy *Trois homes et un couffin*[6] (trans. *Three Men and a Cradle*) by Coline Serreau. The American version of the film makes some minor plot and character adjustments, but overall appears very similar to the original plot of the French movie. However, when a bilingual spectator watches both films, it becomes apparent that the biggest difference between the two versions is the tone of the film's humor, and not on the level of the plot.

The last type of multiple language version film, the double version, is split into two types. The first version is what spectators normally think of when they think of a dubbed film; the actors are all speaking the same foreign language in the original (regardless of the actor's nationality), but the voices have been dubbed over in the target text. The second version is slightly more complicated and is called either a "Babelonian" or polyglot[7] film.[8] This is perhaps most popularly seen in "spaghetti westerns" such as *The Good, The Bad, and The Ugly*, where the actors come from different language groups (in this case, English and Italian), and they recite their dialogue in their native languages during the filming. The dialogue and narration is then completely dubbed over into whatever languages a target text is wanted in. In many cases of Babelonian films, including this practice can be attributed to the use of non-professional actors who fit the appearance or nationality demanded of a role, but do not speak the language the movie is being filmed in.

I have already discussed some of the challenges faced when translating dialogue and narration in film: synchronizing dubbed dialogue with the on-screen movement of lips, the spatial limitations of subtitling, and the need in both dubbing and subtitling for the translation to keep up with the pace of the on-

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[5] *Three Men and a Baby*. DVD, directed by Leonard Nimoy, 1987, Walt Disney Video, 2002.

[6] *Trois homes et un couffin*. DVD, directed by Coline Serreau, 1985, Home Vision Entertainment, 2005.

[7] I choose to use the term "Babelonian" because the actors speaking different languages could not understand each other, and the film is not really speaking multiple languages like a polyglot since the dialogue is standardized in the dubbing process. I will discuss what I consider to be a true polyglot film later in this paper.

[8] Betz, "The Name above the (Sub)Title," 29.

screen dialogue and action. The other general problem of translation in film is distraction of the audience. Because American film produces the largest body of work, American audiences are underexposed to translated films, as compared with their European counterparts. In 2004 in Germany, 85 percent of films shown in theaters were of non-German origin, and of those films between 70 and 80 percent were from America.[9] This leads to the European population being more accustomed to seeing dubbed films or reading subtitles than Americans. Robin Queen states that "Audiences generally prefer that type of film translation with which they are most familiar."[10] Herman Weinberg adds that "American audiences will not accept dubbed films."[11]

I feel that this rejection of dubbing is mainly apparent in "serious" films and is a result of the mockery made of dubbed versions of Asian Kung-Fu and science fiction films where the dubbed dialogue is often much shorter than the spoken dialogue. This mockery in turn grew out of what Queen stated — since general American audiences are most accustomed to seeing movies filmed in English, they do not prefer any type of film translation, no matter how well intentioned. Watching a dubbed movie distracts the spectator from the action of the film because they are faced with the lack of synchronization between the English dialogue and the movement of the speaker's lips. With subtitles, aside from Americans not wanting to exert the effort to read, Weinberg quotes Russian director Vsevolod Pudovkin saying that the concentration and attention required to read subtitles means that the spectator, "cannot be expected to gain any impression from the pictorial composition of the original film."[12] I can attest to Pudovkin's assertion in that while attempting to analyze specific scenes of French films, I have to watch the scenes twice as many times as I would watch a scene in English. First to fully understand the dialogue I watch the scene at least four times, although I do combine the translation of the subtitles with my own

[9] Robin Queen, "'Du hast jar keene Ahnung': African American English Dubbed into German," *Journal of Sociolinguistics*. 8.4 (2004): 520.
[10] Ibid., 520.
[11] Herman G. Weinberg, "The Language Barrier," *Hollywood Quarterly*. 2.4 (July 1947): 334.
[12] Ibid., 336.

translation of the source dialogue rather than rely on the subtitles alone.[13] Only after I understand the dialogue can I pay sufficient attention to the cinematographic techniques used by the director.

I will now present a series of issues in translation that I feel are particularly important or problematic in the translation of film, including the translation of slang, dialects, accents, and the use of multiple languages within a single film. The issue of translating slang terms is probably the one most common with literary translation, and it is here that I will begin my discussion. Translating slang is problematic in more than one way. First, there is not always an equivalent slang expression in the target language to what is used in the source text. There may also be more than one equivalent expression in the target language, which would force the translator to choose between expressions which might have slightly different connotations. The biggest problem in translating slang is censorship — either performed willingly by the translator, or imposed by some outside body. This censorship can greatly alter the impact a text has in the target language, especially if the use of slang is important to character development or plot development.

In "Translation Effects: How Beauvoir Talks Sex in English," Louise von Flotow discussed how Simone de Beauvoir's use of explicit sexual terms was censored, reducing the repetition of specific words within sections of narration, and replacing them with more euphemistic terms.[14] This same type of censorship can be seen in film translations. In *Romance*[15] (1999), directed by Catherine Breillat, some of the script falls victim to this censorship. It is particularly notable in this case because *Romance* is viewed as one of the most, if not *the* most, scandalous, sexually

[13] If anything, my access to the source language in the case of French films is further distracting and complicating because I am torn between trying to listen and understand, but wanting to read the subtitles to make sure I am understanding correctly. It is even more difficult when I am listening to the French and come across a word I do not know, but that section of dialogue has already disappeared from the subtitles.

[14] Louise von Flotow, "Translation Effects: How Beauvoir Talks Sex in English," *Contingent Loves: Simone de Beauvoir and Sexuality*, ed. Melanie C. Hawthorne, (Charlottesville, VA: U Virginia Press, 2000), 13-33.

[15] *Romance*. DVD, directed by Catherine Breillat, 1999, Lions Gate, 2002.

explicit films produced in France in recent years. The film follows the sexual discovery of Marie and presents frank depictions of rape, bondage and sadomasochism, and birth amongst other things.

One of the most memorable, and more lighthearted scenes, is also one that succumbs to different levels of censorship in subtitling and dubbing. Marie is shown making out with, and being groped by Paolo, the stranger she met at a bar the night before. They are sitting in Marie's boyfriend's car outside their apartment when Paolo poses the question "*Est-ce que tu veux me faire une pipe?*" — "Do you want to give me a blowjob?" Saying "une pipe" is the most polite way of referring to fellatio in French, but it is technically a slang term. The term "la fellation" is not commonly used. The ensuing dialogue has Marie using the term "une pipe" quite frequently as she explains that she doesn't want to give him a blowjob now, but would rather give him a blowjob the next time they see each other. The English subtitles do a relatively good job of conveying Marie's openness in talking about sex, and consistently use the term "blowjob" as a translation. Perhaps a slightly more polite choice would have been the expression "go down on," but since that can be used to refer to oral sex performed on either a man or a woman whereas "une pipe" is specifically male-oriented, the choice of "blowjob" is not a bad one.

The dubbed version of the scene, however, is quite different. Instead of Paolo asking "Do you want to give me a blowjob," the voice actor demands "Blow me, baby." The effect is quite hysterical to the American viewer, and this distracts the spectator from the earnestness of the conversation. For as much as that makes Paolo's dialogue more vulgar or masculine (a point to which I will return later), Marie's dialogue becomes much more polite. Instead of using "blowjob," she simply refers to "blowing" Paolo, and this only occurs once. In all the other instances where Marie would have said "une pipe" (there are at least 4), the voice actress euphemistically refers to "*that.*" The resulting effect makes Marie appear much more reserved about sexuality than she is in the French version. In the case of *Romance* the distraction caused by the need to read subtitles is worth it because the dubbed dialogue is an even greater distraction.

As I mentioned, the dubbing of "*Est-ce que tu veux me faire une pipe?*" into "Blow me, baby," does serve to give Paolo's dialogue a hyper-masculine quality, something that is lost in the act of dubbing. The actor intentionally chosen to play Paolo is Rocco Siffredi, a European porn star who was born in Italy. While Siffredi is speaking French in *Romance*, he does speak it with a distinctly Italian accent. The spectator can still get this effect when watching *Romance* with subtitles because they can hear that Siffredi's pronunciation is different from that of all the other characters. When the voice is dubbed over, the accent is lost, and Paolo is simply given a very deep voice. I think this really changes the presentation of Paolo as "*l'étranger*" — both the stranger and the foreigner, and very much an "Other" to Marie. In the English dubbed version the dual notion of stranger/foreigner is lost and Paolo becomes just a man Marie picked up and doesn't know. The eroticization of Paolo as the masculine Other could have been retained by choosing a voice actor with an Italian, or other exotic accent.

Another obstacle of translation closely associate with the use of slang is the use of dialects or regional speech. In literature dialects are often produced in their source language through the use of non-standard spelling and grammar conventions. In a sense, this is a first act of translation of an oral form of communication into a written form, and although a dialect is merely a variation of a standard language and can be understood when heard, the transliteration often produces a very foreignizing effect, as is experience with the use of multiple Southern dialects in *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* by Mark Twain. In literary translation, a similar effect can be achieved in the target text by several means. At the very least, if the dialect is not reproduced, the use of dialect in the original can be footnoted by the translator, with some of the use of dialect being described in narrative passages from the original. The translator may also find it possible to produce a similar effect in the target language through non-standard spellings or sentence constructions. In translating film, footnotes obviously cannot be used, and narrative explanations that could explain the use of dialect cannot easily be incorporated. In the case of translating with non-standard spellings and grammar, this is not often done in film because it makes reading subtitles

much more difficult, and cannot necessarily be picked up in dubbing. In some cases however, it is possible to translate from a source dialect to a target dialect within a source and target language.

An example of this is found in German translations of African American Vernacular English (AAVE). Robin Queen describes that this translation is not performed along racial lines, but rather focuses on the use of AAVE in urban, working-class settings, and a connection between the use of AAVE and street life.[16] The German translations of AAVE incorporate colloquialisms from across many dialects, mainly *Berlinisch*, *Jugendsprache*, and the more general *Umgangsprachen* into what is called the "urban dubbing style."[17] The combinative nature of the "urban dubbing style" reflects the fact that in American reproductions of AAVE and other dialects in film, the most common characteristics of the dialect are emphasized to the point of stereotypifying the dialect and its speakers. The fact that this is very much an "urban dubbing style," rather than a style specifically developed for translations of AAVE is illustrated by the fact that the same principles are used to translate AAVE as dialogue between other urban, male characters involved in street life. Queen presents two very complementary examples, the first a section of dialogue from *Boyz N the Hood* between three black men, and a section of dialogue from *Jungle Fever* between three Italian American men from the urban working class. The linguistic characters shared by the German translations of both dialogues include "a palatal realization of /g/ (*jeht's*); pronominal cliticization (*dassde, kannste*); final consonant deletion (*nich, gefas*); reduction of unstressed syllables (*unser* rather than *unsere*); and informal phrasal and lexical items (*flicken*)."[18] A similar use of "urban dubbing" is seen in the German version of *Good Will Hunting*, where the main characters come from an urban working class background in Boston.[19]

[16] Queen, "'Du hast jar keene Ahnung,'" 521-522, 524.
[17] Ibid., 521-522.
[18] Ibid., 533.
[19] Ibid., 533.

A big challenge to translating film that I have not found addressed in current scholarship is how to translate what I consider to be true polyglot films—films where more than one language is spoken. I will look at the use of both Arabic and French in two different ways: in isolated scenes in *Chaos*[20] (2001) directed by Coline Serreau, and integrated with French dialogue in *Inch'Allah Dimanche*[21] (2001) directed by Yamina Benguigui. In both cases, the challenge for translation is how to translate the language that would already be foreign and subtitled in the original French films.

In *Chaos* the act of translating is made somewhat easier because the scene where Arabic is spoken is separated from the rest of the action of the story because it is a flashback. The flashback features narration in French of Malika's childhood as an immigrant from Algeria, but also includes dialogue in Arabic between Malika's father and the man he wants to marry her to. The effect of the use of Arabic on the French audience is reflected in Malika's confusion over the man's visit and her initial incomprehension of the situation. Some of this feeling of incomprehension is lost on American audiences because there is no difference between the subtitled French and the subtitled Arabic. A spectator must be actively listening while reading in order to sense the difference in languages. With dubbing it is even worse because everything is dubbed into English, with no sense of foreignness inherent in the visitor.

In *Inch'Allah Dimanche* the situation is somewhat different. The use of both French and Arabic occurs throughout the film, and access to language is very important to the action. The story is a family drama, focused again on immigrants from Algeria, although *Inch'Allah Dimanche* is set around 1976, much earlier than *Chaos*. Zouina comes to live with her husband Ahmed in France as part of the *regroupement familial* which allowed Algerian men working in France on permits to bring their families to live with them. Zouina brings with her two sons and one daughter, all of school age, and her mother-in-law, Aïcha. Aïcha is a very traditional Algerian, Muslim woman, and she only speaks a limited amount of French. As she plays a major role in the story,

[20] *Chaos*, DVD, directed by Coline Serreau, 2001, New Yorker Video, 2003.
[21] *Inch'Allah Dimanche*, DVD, directed by Yamina Benguigui, 2001, Filmmovement, 2002.

there is necessarily an intermingling of languages. Zouina speaks both Arabic and French, as do Ahmed and their children, although the children are only seen speaking in French. In a pivotal scene in the film, Aïcha scolds Zouina in Arabic for letting the children draw rather than practice writing. The eldest son asks her why she is so mean (*méchante*) to their mother, and Aïcha replies asking, "*Méchante? Qu'est que c'est méchant? Je ne sais pas qu'est-ce que ça veut dire*." The son gives her the Arabic equivalent and she dismisses his accusation. Aïcha then tells him that he will now be responsible for teaching his father how to write and read French.

It is very clear that the multilingual nature of this household is central in this scene, however, the complexities are lost in the English subtitles to a spectator who does not know Arabic, or cannot differentiate it from the French in the rapid, and rapidly alternating dialogue. I cannot think of a way to convey this complexity through subtitling in any way other than introducing the subtitle as in Arabic (which would get tedious because of its frequent use in the film), or some other system of identification, such as color-coding the languages. I would be most likely to recommend a sort of hybrid film translation. Well done dubbing would give the possibility of retaining the foreignness and multiplicity. The French dialogue could be translated into English, while the Arabic was left un-dubbed, and translated through subtitles — delivered to American audiences in the same way French audiences would encounter it.

While there are many similarities between literary translation and film translation, these occur at a very basic level. Translating film becomes very complicated because of the need to make sure the translated dialogue and narration, in subtitles or dubbing, is somewhat synchronized with the movements of the speakers lips, gestures, and other actions portrayed on the screen. These contribute to the problems of translating dialects and multiple languages because there is only so much space for subtitling, and dubbing must be done in a manner that is understandable, yet distinguishable. Many of these challenges arise from the fact that, except in the case of remakes and adaptations, film translations are only half-translations. The source text remains half intact in the images projected on screen. This is what makes it so hard for film translations to be effective. The

source text is always present, reminding the spectator that they are hearing or reading a translation. This is tantamount to an actor crossing the cinematic "fourth wall" by directly looking at and addressing the audience, thus reminding them that they are watching a film, and not experiencing a reality.

Philosophy, Abstract Thought, and the Dilemmas of Philosophy

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When considering the relation between languages, it seems intuitive that there are common references reflecting simple empirical observations. One would not expect there to be any great difficulty in translating terms such as "tree" or "chair;" what difficulties arise, however, as translation moves away from these basic referential terms? Willard Quine writes in "Meaning and Translation" that "Empirical meaning is what the sentences of one language and their firm translations in another language have in common."[1] Quine argues that linguistic meaning is purely referential and is derived from the symbolism of a term. He uses radical translation—a theoretical situation of creating correlations between a familiar language and one completely alien (which he calls the "jungle" language)—to draw his point, claiming that "What we objectively have is just an evolving adjustment to nature, reflected in an evolving set of dispositions to be prompted by stimulations to assent to or dissent from occasion sentences."[2] This view of language is one which begins with common references such as basic objects of perception, and then builds more complex terms, phrases, and combinations of meanings to

[1] Willard Quine, "Meaning and Translation," *The Translation Studies Reader: Second Edition*, ed. Lawrence Venuti (New York, NY: Routledge, 2004), 94.
[2] Ibid., 100.

express more conceptual notions. The conceptual grid of language as a whole is then that of empirical perception—any abstraction is the combination of these more basic terms, and no inter-lingual equivalence would be guaranteed between abstractions, even assuming that the basic terms have a degree of equivalence.

Quine states that "…the analogies [or, correlations] weaken as we move out toward the theoretical sentences, farthest from observation. Thus who would undertake to translate "Neutrinos lack mass" into the jungle language? If anyone does, we may expect him to coin new native words or distort the usage of old ones."[3] This claim seems true, regardless of whether we accept his argument of the empirical nature of inter-lingual relations and of a minimal conceptual grid—sense and consideration show how difficult translation and understanding become as we move from concrete terms towards those more abstract. For example, the phrase "Rabbits have weight" naturally shows itself to be easier to translate than "Neutrinos lack mass" due to the former's basic nature of linguistic meaning and the abstract, complex correlations of meaning contained in the latter phrase.

What implications does this difficulty of translating abstract language hold in regards to practical matters, outside of the realm of Quine's experiment of radical translation? Considering philosophy as a study typically involving abstract terms and concepts, we are then faced with an interesting and extremely significant difficulty of translating philosophical works. Conveyance of meaning through translation is obviously a crucial aim for any work that is translated—with this concern of the translatability of abstract terminology, however, philosophy seems to have an added element of difficulty. As a field which relies on an array of abstract vocabulary, how do we translate a work and still remain faithful to both the thinker and the source language (SL)? By translating key terms do we risk disturbing the very essence or meaning of a work, and by transplanting an author's thought do we risk changing the very message itself? Our goal is to examine this problem—it will be seen that this is a very real risk, and that complete equivalence cannot always be expected,

[3] Ibid., 111.

and that in some cases the author's very ideas can be endangered by translation and interpretation.

The first example is the ancient Greek term *nomos*. Richard Kraut tells how "the Greek term that is translated as 'law'—*nomos*—covers not only the enactments of a lawgiver or legislature, but also the customs, norms, and unwritten rules of a community."[4] Our contemporary concept of law lacks the same meaning as that of the Greek culture. We consider law as existing beyond societal norms: as Kraut points out, we may say "that slavery is contrary to the moral law, and that this law existed before the wrongness of slavery began to receive general recognition." On the contrary, *nomos* necessarily includes the sociological background of a community and its legal system. There is a cultural discrepancy, and therefore a potential loss of meaning, between the term *nomos* and the English word "law" into which it is typically translated.[5]

In his article titled "The Problem of Translating" Hans W.L. Freudenthal discusses this problem of equivalence in translation. Words are not isolated terms with static meanings—he claims that "Each word has been coined in a specific atmosphere, it has its own history; the metamorphoses of meaning throughout time often demonstrate this fact [dynamic, mutable nature of terms] with a distinctness baffling to linguists."[6] He brings up an example from Friedrich Nietzsche's *Beyond Good and Evil*, discussing Helen Zimmern's translation of *de Epochistik* as "science of epochs":

> The phrase "science of epochs" makes no sense at all, and the context suggests a very different meaning. It is obvious that the word *Epochistik* will not be found in any dictionary. The translation of Nietzsche's works presupposes a study of the peculiarities of his brilliant style and acquaintance with the fact that his procedure was willfully creative in the matter of the coinage of words.

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[4] Richard Kraut, *Aristotle: Political Philosophy* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2002), 105-106

[5] Ibid., 105-108.

[6] Hans W.L. Freudenthal, "The Problem of Translating," *The Modern Language Journal* Vol. 26, No. 1. (Jan. 1942): 63.

> But more than this: one has to be well informed concerning the things constantly present to this philosopher's inner eye and which provide him continually with the images, analogies and similarities that he explores.[7]

In this case we see the problem that Quine discussed in approaching abstract translation—*Epochistik* is a term which lacks one-to-one equivalence or any easy correlation that does not involve significant footnoting or drawn out language. Interestingly enough, in this case even those solutions would seemingly fall short, as footnoting and extenuated, lengthy explanations are by no means Nietzsche's style, and would risk changing the very nature of his thought—this, however, is an issue which we will briefly delay.

Does this difficulty and potential untranslatability of *Epochistik* then damage the meaning that Nietzsche intended? If "science of epochs" is not an accurate translation, then some of the value or meaning is definitely lost—the question then is if this difficulty is significant in whether or not it hinders the conveyance of meaning. Another example may be seen in translations of *The Genealogy of Morals*. An extremely important aspect of this text is the separation between the terms *das Böseste* and *das Schlechte*. For Nietzsche, the separation between these words, translated by Walter Kaufmann as "evil" and "bad" respectively, is immensely important to the entire discussion of the "slave" and "nobility," and the very antithesis drawn between these opposite concepts hinge around understanding a clear division between the two. In his introduction to *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* Kaufmann discusses difficulties with the translation by Thomas Common, writing that Common "coins 'baddest' in a passage in which Nietzsche says 'most evil'"[8] in *The Genealogy of Morals.* Thomas Common's apparent failure to draw an oppositional difference between "Good and Bad" and "Good and Evil" by mistranslating *das Böseste* greatly damages Nietzsche's entire project and demonstrates significant loss of meaning stemming from the same basic

[7] Ibid., 62.
[8] Walter Kaufmann, Editor's Preface, in Frederick Nietzsche, *The Portable Nietzsche* (New York: Penguin Books, 1982), 109.

problems seen in the difficulty of understanding what Freudenthal considered "the philosopher's inner eye."

In putting trust into translations, one would hope that it would portray the most accurate equivocation possible and would not contain gross mistranslations such as Common's coinage of "baddest." Nonetheless, even in an ideal translation, the problem discussed above is very real and it is understood that translation lies in finding a compromise between the source text and the target language. In response to this worry, some translators have chosen to leave certain crucial terms untranslated and not risk replacing them with a word from the target language which may be loaded with a meaning that varies from the source term. One example of this is the English translations of Heidegger and the term *Dasein*. In a version of *Being and Time* translated by John Macquarrie and Edward Robinson, this word is left untranslated and explained in its first instance by a footnote. They tell how "the word 'Dasein' plays so important a role in this work and is already so familiar to the English-speaking reader who has read about Heidegger, that it seems simpler to leave it untranslated except in the relatively rare passages…"[9] This practice of not translating terms then tries to avoid this problem of finding a word in the TL that signifies a closely accurate meaning for a crucial and difficult word in the SL. By leaving the original word untranslated, which can be seen as in a sense coining a new word in the TL, the translator then decides to explain the meaning outside of the original author's thought itself, using mechanisms such as footnotes—through this the term may be expanded and explained more proficiently and still be kept in a similar context as the original work.

Footnoting and other methods of avoiding the problem of untranslatability seem to be closely related to what Jonathan Cohen had in mind when he claims in "Are Philosophical Theses Relative to Language?" that "this is what constitutes a fundamental difference between philosophy and grammar—when philosophical theses *mention* an expression there is nothing to prevent that expression's being translated along with the rest of the thesis. You can find, for instance, books about the rules of Aristotelian logic written in many different natural languages and all using the same

[9] John Macquarrie and Edward Robinson, Footnote in Martin Heidegger, *Being and Time* (New York: Harper & Row, 1962), 27.

example for a syllogism…"[10] Cohen's statement is in the context of an argument between the translatability of grammatical and philosophical theses, and while this may be seemingly off-topic, his claim is one which is important and shows both truth and falsity. Cohen uses the universal syllogism "all men are mortal" to support this assertion of the translatability of philosophical theses, and his claim in this specific instance does seem to be true. This example, however, is a very basic instance of "philosophical" thought—neither the terms nor the overall proposition portray much of a degree of abstraction. The thesis "All men are mortal" is undoubtedly less complex of a claim than a statement such as "True moral action follows the categorical imperative." This is no attempt to make an overall comparison between the translatability of Aristotle and Kant, but rather to show a flaw in Cohen's argument. Granted, philosophical terms and theses may be translated with different degrees of equivalence, as a simpler proposition such as Cohen's example seems to lend itself to translation rather easily while the latter example would be much more difficult. Nonetheless, his argument seems to fall short of any serious critique of the examples given previously—in many instances translation deals with concepts of abstraction which are loaded with cultural and linguistic meaning that are both inseparable (at least to some degree) from the SL and alien to the TL. Furthermore, Cohen's argument also necessarily considers philosophical concepts distinctly separate from grammar and language itself. What happens when philosophy is not separate from the use of language?

An example of this problem may be seen in poetry. When translating poetry do we concern ourselves primarily with retaining the meaning of the words and sacrifice the sense and feeling of the work? Or, instead, do we retain the latter and risk damage to the meaning, which may be lost from poorer word choices? Either way, the translator risks damage to the original instance of art. The previous examples of philosophical terms in translation demonstrate that we cannot always expect a one-to-one equivalence when moving into another language, and instead must use devices such as footnoting or expanding a thought into a longer

[10] L. Jonathan Cohen, "Are Philosophical Theses Relative to Language?" *Analysis* Vol. 9, No.5. (Apr. 1949): 76.

sequence of terms or phrases. In many instances it could be argued that this does not damage the meaning of a philosophical thesis or of an abstract concept, such as the argument expressed by Cohen. What if, however, philosophy held similar aspects as those of poetry and we could not separate grammar, syntax, and meaning so easily?

In many cases this seems to be a rather absurd question. Philosophy, in numerous respects, does seem to be separate from the sense of language in the overall work—metaphysics, for example, is typically a study in which language serves to logically connect philosophical terms. In this sense, while the terms may face difficulties of translation, the translator would most likely favor the equivalence of terms over the style of the SL. But not all philosophy is formatted or stylized as metaphysical discourse, not all authors use language for the same purposes, and the notion that philosophy could use language and feeling in the same way as poetry is quite important to the way in which we consider its translation.

Nietzsche's work serves as an excellent example for this consideration. Unlike metaphysics and similar philosophy, Nietzsche sought after a very different project. It is not a project which, like generations of thinkers before, sought to define lofty eternals or definite absolutes. Nietzsche's philosophy is that which is seen in his works such as *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* and *The Antichrist*—his project is that of the "revaluation of values," of the pursuit of perspectives. Sarah Kofman discusses this very nature of Nietzsche's philosophy, writing that

> Tyranny is reprehensible in all its forms, including that of any philosopher seeking to raise his spontaneous evaluation to the status of an absolute value and his style to that of a philosophical style 'in itself', opposed to poetic style 'in itself' like truth opposed to untruth, good to evil… Whether writing is conceptual or metaphorical (and since Nietzsche the opposition has hardly applied any longer), the essential thing is… to be at enough of a distance from it to make fun of it.[11]

[11] Sarah Kofman, *Nietzsche and Metaphor*, trans. Duncan Large (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1993), 3.

The typical philosophical style—what Kofman argues as the style of the "metaphysician"—is that of transcending both meaning and language to absolutes, to logical propositions which are universal, or as close to universal as possible. This is not Nietzsche, and his language mirrors his philosophy. Similar to poetry, language does not serve merely as a vehicle for Nietzsche's meaning, but rather it works in conjunction with his philosophy. His language and his thought are not separate—together, they are his meaning. To quote Walter Kaufmann, who seems to understand this very same point:

> …it is impossible to be faithful to the content while sacrificing the form: meaning and mood are inseparable. If the translator makes things easy for himself and omits a play on words, he unwittingly makes a lighthearted pun or rhyme look serious, if he does not reduce the whole passage to nonsense.[12]

For Nietzsche this mutual connection is that of his use of metaphor—by creating this reflection between meaning and sense, between his thought and the very use of his language, he brings about the revaluation that his philosophy itself cries out for. By the use of metaphor and poetic style he creates the ability for a plurality of perspectives and the capacity for his text to evolve. As our concepts of "truth" change, so must our perspective, our thought, and therefore, also our style.

How do we translate this plurality of style and meaning in a work in which they are inseparable? One reason for Kaufmann's retranslations was that,

> For one thing, they completely misrepresent the mood of the original—beginning, but unfortunately not ending, with their many unjustified archaisms, their 'thou' and 'ye' with the clumsy attendant verb forms, and their whole misguided effort to approximate the King James Bible… More often than not, he [Thomas Common] either

[12] Walter Kaufmann, Introduction, Frederick Nietzsche, *The Portable Nietzsche* (New York: Penguin Books, 1982), 6.

> overlooks a play on words or misunderstands it, an in both cases makes nonsense of Nietzsche.[13]

In this criticism then we see a failure to convey this style and the subsequent loss of meaning, the very loss that, "abets the common misconception of the austere Nietzsche, when, in fact, no other philosopher knew better how to laugh at himself."[14] That is one way, then, which it seems we should not translate Nietzsche—criticism of previous faults may help us, but how do we retain the very style which Common seemed to betray?

Kaufmann explains his attempt at a better translation, writing that "an effort has been made to preserve as much as possible of his cadences, even where they are awkwardly groping or overstrained. What is thus lost in smoothness is gained for the understanding of the development of his style and personality."[15] Here, foreignizing is preferable to domesticating Nietzsche's language and Kaufmann surely shows this with his criticism of Common's translation and his own preference for "style and personality" over smoothness. Kaufmann's decision is correct if Nietzsche's style and meaning are inseparable—why risk sacrificing both the beauty and innate meaning of writing for a higher degree of ease or smoothness?

The pursuit of this brief talk, however, is not to define methods by which translations can become flawless, nor should it be seen as an attempt, or at least much of one, to recommend better devices or practices for the translator. We have seen how cultural and inter-lingual differences hinder the translation of abstract terms—Quine's claim that "…continuities [between languages], by facilitating translation, encourage an illusion of subject matter…"[16] in this case seems to be true. That is not to say abstract terms cannot be translated, but instead that we must realize the existence of conceptual differences between languages and beware of assuming that a term from the SL holds the very same connotations and correlations as the word that we perceive to generate it in the TL. Furthermore, we must also be aware that translation of

[13] Kaufmann, Editor's Preface, 107-108.
[14] Kaufmann, Introduction, 6.
[15] Ibid., 3.
[16] Quine, "Meaning and Translation," 111.

philosophy and of conceptual thought in general cannot be viewed as the translation primarily of vocabulary, but also of the translation of thought as a whole. With the connection between style and meaning which was seen in Nietzsche, we must realize that to translate is to interpret and that by disregarding or privileging any particular aspect we risk damage to the work, especially when there is such a dependence on language.

This difficulty of translation is, at least in part, a reflection of Nietzsche's various interpretations and ideas which, through the metaphor, show (or, perhaps only encourage) multiplicity and change as the only permanency. Kaufmann's criticisms of Common in many respects do seem to ring true, as being unable to see Nietzsche's humor within his seriousness, his carefulness within his rashness—in short, this very plurality of perspectives—would doubtlessly damage the translation of Nietzsche's language and his philosophy. At the same time, however, if as Sarah Kofman wrote, "A new reading/writing destroys the traditional categories of the book as a closed totality containing a definitive meaning, the author's; in such a way it deconstructs the idea of the author as a master of the meaning of the work …", then maybe we may wish to seek particular meaning from the ambiguity and multiplicity, from the very "pluralism of interpretations and their renewal."[17] Perhaps we cannot completely discard any translation, and instead consider different interpretations in translation and if perhaps, as Walter Benjamin wrote, "all great texts contain their potential translation between the lines…"[18]

[17] Kofman, *Nietzsche and Metaphor*, 116.

[18] Walter Benjamin, "The Task of the Translator: An Introduction to the Translation of Baudelaire's *Tableaux Parisiens*," trans. Harry Zohn, *The Translation Studies Reader: Second Edition*, ed. Lawrence Venuti (New York, NY: Routledge, 2004), 7.

The Great War Seen Through the Comparative Lens

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Why Comparative History? A Unity of Difference

So much has been published on the First World War that it might be more worthwhile to ask, why the Great War again? A new call for a reevaluation the war seems to be most trifling, and probably met with an occasional yawn: surely someone has developed an adequate interpretation by now. However, recent efforts by numerous historians in Europe, such as Jay M. Winter, Annette Becker, and Stéphane Audoin-Rouzeau, have shown that this assertion would be quite wrong. Since the end of the war in 1918, there have been numerous historical paradigms, each focusing on different "configurations" that were believed to be important in remembering the war. The aim here is to argue that to fully understand the First World War we must examine the collective response of the national communities that fought it. Naturally, as the war dragged on, and as the cost in life and material rose, the representations of the national communities changed to adapt to the situation of the times. It can even be said that this is the beginning of the change of the nationalist narrative from the cultural to the political: after all, words such as "threat", "security", and "sacred" all belong to the conservative political camp. The origins of totalitarianism, whether fascist, Nazi, or communist, can be directly traced back to the Great War and the

development of the integrated national community. There is something to be said of Martin Heidegger's concern about the totalizing and enframing processes that occur in the twentieth century, although he would find different sources for this. Whatever the origin, the fact is that since the beginning of the Modern Age, the issues of identity, both for the individual, and for his connection to society, has been of primary concern. It is therefore essential to examine the cultural modes of representation used by the peoples of the past which they used to aid in making sense of their own world, and not to merely trace the notions of "progression", whether if it is a supposed progression of technology, political systems, economics, or liberty. Henri Bergson was correct that time is duration. However, in order to come to express the actions, feelings, ideas, and emotions of our predecessors, we must examine it one expression at a time, and hopefully, just hopefully, a larger picture will become clear.

In a sense, this paper is an exercise in cultural history, in which it examines what Jay Winter calls "representations." To Winter this is merely a part of the shifting paradigm in First World War studies, corresponding to the third historiographical configuration: cultural history.[1] To Winter, "cultural history is a history of the intimate…It is a history of signifying practices; it studies how men and women make sense of the world in which they live."[2] These signifiers can be found in the many ways that collective national communities represented their world through art, literature, media, music, toys, games, monuments, etc. What makes the First World War so important in the terms of the national community is how the populations that made up these communities responded to the war and the sacrifices made during it: "Social identities are legitimized through commemoration. Here is one of the major characteristics of contemporary cultural life: identity is value."[3] However, the historian must be cautious so as not to overstep these cultural signifiers, for the war itself may be given too much precedence and itself reified. In his own

[1] Jay Winter and Antoine Prost, *The Great War in History: Debates and Controversies, 1914 to the Present* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 25-31.
[2] Ibid., 29.
[3] Ibid., 27-28.

argument, Winter maintains that the shift to cultural history was made in response to the fall of the Marxist paradigm, where histories today do not make sense because of their objectivity, "but precisely [because of] their subjectivity, and the question of how representative are they is now deemed meaningless."[4] The search is not for all-encompassing histories that provide universal explanations; rather it is for a history of everyday life, what the Germans call the *Alltagsgeschichte*. The study of the representations that national communities used to define their world during specific points in history is called "*mentalités*." It is what Winter has called "the mental furniture of populations" in the past: "*Mentalité* in this discourse means visceral commitments rather than ideologies, unspoken assumptions rather than political or social programs."[5] With the decline of historical materialism, the turn is made towards the ideas and representations that make up the human condition. For all intents and purposes, this is the era of a new historical idealism.

This shift to cultural history has been closely aligned with the First World War, and with warfare in general. Stéphane Audoin-Rouzeau coined the term "war culture" (*culture de guerre*) alluding to the conceptual mental framework men and women draw on to make sense of their world at war. In a series of studies on childhood, war atrocities, and mourning practices, Audoin-Rouzeau showed the way this war culture seeped into every area of domestic life.[6] He goes so far to argue that war strips man down to his barest essentials, allowing the historian to see visibly his ideas and beliefs:

> The violence specific to warfare is a prism that refracts many otherwise invisible aspects of the world. Entire societies can be seen anew, but one must be willing to *look* closely. In paroxysms of

[4] Ibid., 27.
[5] Jay Winter, Foreword, in Stéphane Audoin-Rouzeau, *Men At War, 1914-1918: National Sentiment and Trench Journalism in France during the First World War* (Washington D.C.: Berg, 1995), ix.
[6] Stéphane Audoin-Rouzeau, *Men At War, 1914-1918: National Sentiment and Trench Journalism in France during the First World War* (Washington D.C.: Berg, 1995),164.

> violence everything is stripped naked - starting with men, their bodies, their fantasies and desires, their fears, passions, beliefs hatreds…the motivations that allow them to kill their fellow men and endure the terror of confrontation - these pertain to something essential - something we shall call their 'representations'.[7]

Audoin-Rouzeau falls in line with the work of British military historian John Keegan, in challenging the Clausewitzian notion that "war is politics by other means", both stating a deep truth: war is first and foremost a cultural act.[8] However, the inseparable character of the nation and the people brings merit to this argument that war is the creation and unification of culture by other means against external "enemies." After all, had Clausewitz not also said "The passions which break forth in war must already have a latent existence in the peoples"?[9]

The Discourses of the National Community

In an essay entitled, "Of Men and Myths: The Use and Abuse of History and the Great War," Holger H. Herwig examines five case studies in which myths about historical events were created, and elaborated upon.[10] Herwig uses the term myth, not "in Joseph Campbell's sense, whereby myths are designed to teach us how to search for meaning, to seek the essence of being alive, and to feel the spiritual potentialities of life," but in the "classic Greek sense, in which the myth, for all its inconsistencies and absurdities, when accepted as truth, represents the learning and wisdom of a

[7] Stéphane Audoin-Rouzeau and Annette Becker, *14-18: Understanding the Great War* (New York, NY: Hill and Wang, 2002), 16-17.
[8] Ibid., 18. Cf. John Keegan, *The Face of Battle* (New York, NY: Viking Press, 1976).
[9] Carl von Clausewitz, *On War* Vol. 1, trans. Colonel J.J. Graham (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trubner, and Company, 1908), 26.
[10] Holger H. Herwig, "Of Men and Myths: The Use and Abuse of History and the Great War," *The Great War and the Twentieth Century*, eds. Jay Winter, Geoffrey Parker, and Mary R. Habeck (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000), 299-330.

society."[11] Myths are an essential part of modern political culture. They constitute that web of shared meaning by which the members of a complex society form and sustain their association, providing the unity as something natural, self-evident.[12] The narration of these myths becomes important, for the names that are given to the objects in the narration, as well as those who are either telling the story or those who the story is being told to, creates identities, and the narrative myth becomes a part of identity. Names therefore are important in the telling of a story, in that, as Jean-François Lyotard has pointed out: "Names - define a world, a world of names - the cultural world. This world is finite because in it the number of available names is finite."[13] These stories of narration fill the gaps between these names, and in the case of a myth, according to Herwig's usage, they are placed in the particular gaps of a story that are unique to the experience of a society.

To expand on Herwig's example, the historian at times provides a helping hand in creating and developing narratives that can be taken as either/or truth and identity creation. This is particularly so when the historian belongs to a specific community that has for a long time accepted a myth as an integral part of national identity. Indeed, after Hayden White and the linguistic turn, and after Alain Corbin and Roger Chartier and the history of representations, it is impossible to even take eye-witness accounts at their face value without raising questions as to how they were formulated, constructed, and prefigured by their author's views. Ernest Gellner states that "Nationalism is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness: it *invents* nations where they do not exist."[14] However, there must be a distinction made: Gellner supposes that all nationalism masquerades as a falsity, and does not consider its creation. Benedict Anderson places his emphasis on the "imagining" of the national community, in which it is imagined "because the members of even the smallest nation will

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[11] Ibid., 299-300. Cf. Joseph Campbell, *The Power of Myth* (New York, NY: Doubleday, 1988).
[12] Jeffrey Verhey, *The Spirit of 1914: Militarism, Myth, and Mobilization in Germany* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 9.
[13] Jean-François Lyotard, *The Post-Modern Explained* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1993), 45.
[14] Ernest Gellner, *Thought and Change* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1964), 169.

never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion."[15] More importantly in terms of the narration, as Anderson points out, is that "communities are to be distinguished…by the style in which they are imagined."[16] This places the emphasis of study on the narrative itself, as it is the acceptance of the narrative as truth that becomes part of the creation of identity.

It is again Jay Winter who points out two kinds of narrative discourses that were in use in Europe during, and before the First World War. The historical tradition, influenced by Paul Fussell's *The Great War and Modern Memory*, which focused primarily on the British war poets, argued that the war had swept away a set of literary conventions and gave us a new and deeply ironic voice. This was a point in human history where mankind attacked the abstract notions that had been followed blindly: it was the break of tradition, and the creation of the Modern. As Fussell writes: "the Great War was perhaps the last to be conceived as taking place within a seamless, purposeful 'history' involving a coherent stream of time running from past through present to future…the Great War took place in what was, compared with ours, a static world, where the values appeared stable and where the meanings of abstractions seemed permanent and reliable."[17] The argument that the Great War represented a break in history, and discontinuity with the past and with the Modern has been well commented on. Kenneth Silver's *Esprit de Corps: The Art of the Parisian Avant-garde and the First World War* writes that after 1914, "self-control, self-abnegation, and self-denial of so many kinds became a national *modus vivendi*" and that this mood dominated the visual arts as it did the rest of social life. It was only after the war had ended that artists could again begin to "invent the world" without the shackles of war-related constraints.[18] Thus, the war was for

[15] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991), 6.
[16] Ibid., 6.
[17] Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press 1976), 21.
[18] Kenneth Silver, *Esprit des Corps: The Art of the Parisian Avant-garde and the First World War* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989), 388-389.

Silver, a step backwards: modernity was regressive not progressive. Modris Eksteins presents us with another view of Modernism in his *Rites of Spring: the Great War and the Birth of the Modern Age*. Speaking from a distinctly German perspective (although Eksteins deals with Britain and France, the main drive of the argument is clear), the author echoes the birth of Modernity as a creation born of chaos, quoting Elias Canetti: "the banging of windows, and the crashing of glass are the robust sounds of fresh life, the cries of something new-born."[19] Eksteins' argument follows that the questioning of traditional values, indeed the Nietzschean "transvaluation of values" of violence, power, aggression, that denote Nazi culture can be traced back to the war enthusiasm felt by Germans in August 1914. This is the reason why Eksteins sees profound links between facets of Stravinsky's "Rite of Spring," the theatricality of the Great War, and the primitive choreography of Nazi "culture."

In response, Jay Winter argues in *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning*—based on the "collective remembrance" of the Great War—Modernity was not solely the only form used to make sense of the time. For Winter, "Modernism was a cultural phenomenon," for sure, but at the same time "a set of what may be called 'traditional values'—classical, romantic, or religious images and ideas widely disseminated in both elite and popular culture before and during the war," remained.[20] For Winter, the war did not represent a clear break from the Modern and the traditional, as both "forms of imagining the war were evident long before the armistice. Furthermore, the distinction was at times more rhetorical than real. Modernists didn't obliterate traditions; they stretched, explored, and reconfigured them in ways that alarmed conventional artists, writers, and the public at large."[21] Winter notes quite correctly that Modernism follows its own teleology, that is always dependent on the past:

> 'Modernism' - more of a temperament than a set of

[19] Modris Eksteins, *Rites of Spring: The Great War and the Birth of the Modern Age* (New York, NY: Anchor Books, 1989), 55.
[20] J.M. Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 2-3.
[21] Ibid., 3.

> fixed beliefs - left behind as neatly and surgically as some scholars suggest a host of images and conventions derived from eighteenth and nineteenth-century religious, romantic, or classical traditions…it is the very teleology of this position - the search for precursors or exponents of what later critics have admired or rejected - which makes the 'modernist' hypothesis about the cultural history of the early twentieth century just as misleading as other tendentious interpretations of recent or not so recent history.[22]

It is interesting here to compare Winter's work with Anderson's conception of the temporal trappings of nationalism. For Anderson, the narrative of nationalism follows a conception of simultaneity, in which time, is "an idea of homogeneous, empty-time, in which simultaneity is, as it were, transverse, cross-time, marked not by prefiguring and fulfillment, but by temporal coincidence, and measured by clock and calendar."[23] The age of nationalism is represented by the connection of past and future, which is what gives a national community its distinct identity, and culture. This is not merely a "Modern" mode of interpretation and criticism, but one that was in play ever since historical consciousness was awaken in Europe at least by the fifteenth-century; after all the dialectic of ancients and moderns in history dated as far back as Machiavelli.[24]

The Great War was a culmination of the traditional modes of cultural representations coupled with the discourses of the Modern being played out on the battlefield. Although there had been wars between nation-states in Europe before, the First World War marked the first conflict that encompassed the whole of every national community involved. Even the neutral nations, as far away as the United States, would not be left untouched. There is no discontinuity in the twentieth century between the traditional and the Modern, surely the romantic images of war were lost by 1918,

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[22] Ibid., 4-5.
[23] Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 24.
[24] Niccolò Machiavelli, *Selected Political Writings*, ed. David Wootton, (Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Pub. Co., 1994), 159.

especially once the war poets and novelists got their hands on them, but the men and women of the generation of 1914, the masses that made up the armies and workers, went to war that year based on the ideas and representations that composed their national identities - the war for all belligerent nations was justified by defense of the common, collective identity. However the Great War was such a traumatic event, it left many aloft and devoid of meaning. The huge excesses in killing and destruction, even after the war, made people feel at the time that the war did offer a break with the past. After all, how could Europe go back to the way things were after such a catastrophe? And although has Jay Winter as pointed out, "Auschwitz was not Verdun", it still must be remembered that the "lost generation" of 1914 were executioners as well as victims.[25]

The Nation at War: Singularity and Universality

Most historians would maintain that the nationalist narrative began in France. The Great Revolution had created both internal and external concerns, which made it necessary for the numerous revolutionary governments to promote the idea of not only the nation, but also of the "Republic" in order to maintain what had been gained. There were of course movements against this: one can only think of the slaughter of the Vendée, and the alienation of the clergy. However, for the most part, the nationalist zeal that overtook France and Europe was quite successful. The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen declared: "The principle of all sovereignty resides essentially in the nation. No body, no individual can exercise authority that does not expressly emanate from it" (article 3). The nation was to be the collective representation of "the general will" that Rousseau had argued should be the basis of political government. As for Rousseau: "What causes human misery is the contradiction…between nature and social institutions, between man and citizen…Give him over entirely to the state or leave him entirely to himself, but if you

[25] J.M. Winter, "Catastrophe and Culture: Recent Trends in the Historiography of the First World War," *The Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 64, No. 3 (Sept. 1992): 532.

divide his heart you destroy him."[26] In this sense, as a Republic, France had chosen to be a nation of citizens, one of civilization, not of barbarism.

The problems that this causes, argues Tzvetan Todorov is that "Legitimation via the nation instead of God has been viewed as inseparable from preference for one's own country at the expense of universal principles, membership in a culture - which is undeniable and unavoidable - has come to justify the requirement that cultural and political entities should coincide."[27] However, Todorov has pointed out: "the 'internal' nation proceeds from the idea of equality, while the 'external' nation implies on the contrary a preferential choice in favor of one's own country over all the others, thus implying inequality."[28] This is the narrative of national community that had formed in the "external" idea of France, the geographical construction, which was legitimized by the "internal," cultural France. Once this distinction between the French national community from its neighbors, once the cultural and political had been overlapped, the idea that "The French have become the foremost people of the universe", proclaiming one deputy in the National Assembly, was created. This notion of liberating the beleaguered peoples of Europe from the tyranny of monarchical government and despotism grew into the idea of "*mission civilatrice*." This was based on the moral notion that once free, and once they had obtained the rights of man and citizen, it was now the duty of the French people to be the beacon of reason to the rest of the world, still under the grip of tyrannous kings. Durand-Maillane wrote in 1791 that the new constitution "has to make the people of France happy, and by imitation, all people."[29] However, as Eugen Weber points out, it was the rural areas of France, and those regions and populations that were hardly "French" in the sense of Parisian "civilization," that were made the object of this "civilizing mission." Weber makes the point that "the

[26] quoted in Tzvetan Todorov, *On Human Diversity: Nationalism, Racism, and Exoticism in French Thought* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 180.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Tzvetan Todorov, *Hope and Memory: Lessons from the Twentieth Century* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003), 253.
[29] Todorov, *On Human Diversity*, 187.

people of whole regions [of France] felt little identity with the state or with people of other regions" even by 1870.[30] It seems that France during and after the Revolution, made a greater effort attempting to acclimate the French people to the "civilizing process" than external peoples. A student in Paris, Georges Valérie, wrote in 1901 that "Conquest is a necessary stage on the road to nationalism…[A nation should] bring in larger unity groups without a clear cultural identity, to draw in, to enrich, to enlighten the uninstructed tribal mind, this is the civilizing mission we cannot renounce."[31] It was necessary to assimilate rural populations for the simple fact that they were generally conceived to have no culture of their own; they were still reliant on antiquated ways. These communities could therefore only benefit from their integration into the larger French community. Weber suggests it may be easier to see the integration of peoples into national communities in the light of colonialism. Throughout Western Europe this process was hugely successful, mostly because of the growth of nationalist education, mainly through the teaching of history.

Schools taught potent lessons of morality focused on duty, effort, and seriousness of purpose. This had been the goal of François Guizot as early as 1833, when he defined the instruction that schools were intended to provide: reading, writing, and arithmetic to furnish essential skills, the teaching of French and of the metric system to implant or increase the sense of unity under French nationhood, moral and religious instruction to serve spiritual and social needs.[32] The history of France before the Great War was presented in a continuous chain, extending back to Roman times, one text declaring "Here we are, more than two thousand years ago, in the period when France was still called Gaul."[33] France here appears less a nation and more an essence projected backwards, invoking the idea of *la France éternelle*. French soldiers and statesmen became heroes; French culture and

[30] Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen*: *The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1976), 486.
[31] Quoted from Ibid, 486.
[32] Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen*, 331.
[33] Quoted from Ann-Louise Shapiro, "Fixing History: Narratives of World War I in France," *History and Theory*, Vol.36, No. 4, (Dec., 1997): 114.

style was made primary, the very expression of high art; class conflict was completely excluded. In all this, France became a nation, indeed a spirit that was eternal and undying. Increasingly, French nationalism re-emphasized the differences between France's "*mission civilatrice*" and Germany's *Kultur* and *Weltpolitik*; two distinct teleological narratives, each giving divine meaning to the community on opposite sides of the Rhine. These kinds of narratives are what Etienne Balibar call "the two symmetrical figures of the illusion of national identity": where history articulates both a national personality and a national mission.[34] The comparison with Germany fundamentally shaped the French national community before the war, and these assumptions had a profound effect on how it responded in the early days as the Germans invaded France herself.

Germany for its part saw not only an external difference with France, but also to the east of her borders, to the lands of Russia. The Prussian victory in 1870 had led most in the German military and government to dismiss the French threat to the West, fearing only the possibility of a two-front war. Russia's huge army and vastness of territory provided the Germans with an immediate concern and also the opportunity to realize its own historical mission. For many Germans, Russia provided the opportunities of dynastic expansion, but also an exoteric calling of spirituality. *Sturm und Drang* movement members Klinger and Lenz discerned in Russia and its people a spiritual breadth, and even Rilke considered Russia his spiritual homeland. Artists, musicians, and philosophers from Wagner to Nietzsche, from Spengler to Thomas Mann reveled in the exotic imagination of the East.[35] However, this feeling also was coupled with the imperialistic designs of many Germans, concluding that the Eastern peoples provided a *tabula rosa*, where the people were still young, and nobly savage, for which provided the opportunity for German *Kultur* to cultivate. It became a fixation of the German imagination to "Drive to the

[34] Etienne Balibar, "The Nation Form: History and Ideology," *Becoming National*, eds. Geoff Eley and Ronald Grigor Suny, (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1996), 132.
[35] Vejas Gabriel Liulevicius, *War Land on the Eastern Front: Culture, National Identity and German Occupation in World War I*, (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 25.

East" (the *Drang nach Osten*) which had developed by at least the 1860s. This became a commonly held assumption of Germany's ultimate destiny in the ascension of *Weltpolitik.*

If history provided access to the new temporal conceptions of nationalism, then geography and its teaching offered the same for the spatial. With the learning of sciences and of cosmography, the intake of general terms of geographical landscapes that are codified in a descriptive language, presenting pupils with a universal reference system, complete with uniform rules.[36] Geography provides names and legitimizes space, it was necessary for the nation to move towards the resacralization of one part of space – the national territory in the teaching of geography. Germany told its students of the "special relationship to the landscape" and incarnated a collective myth to conquer Russian lands.[37] In France, the concept of the "Hexagon" was created. For school students the geometric figure of the hexagon allowed them to conceptualize the image of France as they learned the geography of their country. They were also taught the *départements* as well; learning to recite the departments' names as well as their prefectures and sub-prefectures. Of course, regional boundaries did not always follow natural boundaries created by climate, weather, rivers, and mountains. The Republic made great efforts in trying to integrate these natural geographic realities with the abstract boundaries of administrative units. School geography was successful in implanting national identity and making this national identity the property of every Frenchmen.[38]

The outbreak of war in 1914 brought all these totalizing principles to the forefront of daily life. Years of nationalist sentiment and collective identity now spread over in all spheres of cultural life. Furthermore, this was not merely a development left to one nation, but was a phenomenon experienced by every nation that entered the war, including America, usually presented by historians as wanting to avoid the war. Ideological battles between the academia of the belligerents were fought just as viciously as

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[36] Antoine Prost, "The Republican Primary School and French National Identity," *Republican Identities in War and Peace: Representations of France in the 19th and 20th Centuries* (New York, NY: Berg, 2002), 74.
[37] Liulevicius, *War Land on the Eastern Front*, 170.
[38] Ibid., 77.

the war on the battlefield. In October 1914, virtually the entire German academic profession - over 4,000 names, including almost every professor at almost every German university - endorsed a declaration entitled "*An der Kulturwelt*" (To the World of Culture). Numbered among them were closet socialists, future pacifists, and skeptics, including Max Weber and Alfred Einstein.[39] Their list of denials concluded with two assertions: first, that the future of European culture rested on the victory of German so-called "militarism"; and secondly, that in defining this militarism there was no distinction to be made between Prussia and the rest of Germany, or between the German army and the German nation: "both are one."[40] "Our belief," the declaration continues "is that the salvation of all European culture depends on the victory for which German 'militarism' is fighting, the discipline, the loyalty, the spirit of sacrifice of the united free German people."[41] German *Kultur*, which embraced concepts that began with the community but were defined nationally, the idea of *Geist*, was taken in contrast to "civilization." Rudolf Eucken, the German philosopher and Nobel Prize winner published on "the world historical significance of the German spirit," asserting that Germany could not be defeated while it remained truly united and stood fast in its inner strength.[42] Hew Strachan argues that the war of 1914 had led the Germans away from previous advances in culture, and placed them on a new path:

> The clash between civilization and *Kultur* took German thought back to its late-eighteenth-century roots. In condemning civilization, the philosophers of 1914 were reflecting the rationality of the Enlightenment and the consequences of the French Revolution. They argued that, following what was essentially an alien, French track, philosophy had

[39] Hew Strachan, *The First World War: Vol, I: To Arms* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 1122.
[40] Ibid., 1122, Cf. Bernhard Vom Brocke, *Wissenschaft und Militarismus* (Darmstadt WBG, 1985), 649-664.
[41] Ibid., 1129.
[42] Hermann Lübbe, *Politische Philosophie in Deutschland: Studien Zu Ihrer Geschichte* (München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1974), 176-84.

> elevated the rule of law and the rights of the individual, and so had promoted selfishness and materialism. At one level, therefore the summons of 1914 was a call to rediscover the ideas of the *Aufklärung* and to refurbish the memory of 1813.[43]

It was yet another clash between the discourses of the traditional and the Modern.

This declaration by the German academic profession only legitimated the claims of their French counterparts. The French responded with their declaration on November 3. It contained the names of 100 members of the French literary and artistic world, including Gerorges Clemenceau, Barrès, Debussy, Gide, Matisse, and Monet. Declaring that "the intellectual and moral richness of humanity is created by the natural variety and independence of all nations' gifts," it was clear that it was a statement of the kind of universalizing principle that the Republic had always claimed as the self-anointed beacon of civilization.[44] On December 12, Bergson told the *Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques* that German philosophy was "a translation into intellectual terms of her brutality, her appetites, and her vices." Germany's actions were merely "barbarism reinforced by civilization."[45] The image of the barbarous German enemy was not merely used to legitimize the war cause. It also offered an opportunity to be directed towards particular ends, such as war loans or military recruitment, and to solicit the support of foreign neutrals.[46]

As the ideological battles were being fought with words and documents, the realities of war were being experienced by ordinary soldiers and civilians in the front-lines and in the occupied territories. Few had to be read rhetoric about the brutality of war in 1914. However, many used the nationalist discourse to make sense of what was happening around them. As the Germans approached the city of Lille, Madame Delahaye-Théry, witnessed

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[43] Strachan, *The First World War*, 1129-30.
[44] Ibid., 1121.
[45] Henri Bergson, *Meaning of War: Life and Matter in Conflict* (London: T.F. Unwin, 1915), 33.
[46] John Horne and Alan Kramer, *German Atrocities, 1914: A History of Denial* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001), 292.

the retreat of the French army, and wrote that "The Germans are coming. It's the end. The end for us."[47] It must be remembered that although most of the stories of German barbarization were exaggerated, horrible events did take place. As Modris Eksteins put it:

> If babies were not systematically snatched from mothers' arms and smashed against brick walls, if nuns were not deliberately sought out for sodomy, rape, and slaughter, if old people were not made to crawl on all fours before being riddled with bullets, considerable numbers of hostages were shot, including women and children and octogenarians.[48]

It must also be remembered that the "atrocities" committed by the Germans, while both real and definite, the representations used by the French and Allies to designate the German enemy were also a manner, and John Horne and Allan Kramer point out: "To find a language for the realities of the German invasion."[49] However, taken further, it could also, and should be said that it was the attempt at elucidation of the realities of warfare in the age of national communities and total war. The Germans were certainly not alone in perpetrating brutal acts in 1914, and the equivocal use of imagery, such as myths of the *franc-tireur* and the French with the severed hands, reduced a complex and emotionally charged situation to an emblematic person or action.[50] Naturally, women and children were for the French the most readily accessible link to the imagery of a peaceful France forced into war by the German aggressor. The image of raped women and severed hands became the signifier to the cause of the national community. The myths provided accessible justifications for the continuation of the war, and outlined a purpose for the unity now obtained by the state. In this way, the national community, the state, and the war were

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[47] Helen McPhail, *The Long Silence: Civilian Life Under the German Occupation of Northern France, 1914-1918* (New York, NY: I.B. Tauris, 1999), 19.
[48] Eksteins, *Rites of Spring*, 158.
[49] Horne and Kramer, *German Atrocities, 1914*, 225.
[50] Ibid., 204.

forged into one mentality, one experience, and one representation that made the conflict seem as a fight to death, initiating a fatalism and grim determination that only helped to totalize the war further.

Rudolf Binding, a German soldier serving on the Western Front during 1918, wrote in his diary on August 12, expressing that what he was experiencing during the war was something that was a part of "uncontrollable movements and forces":

> In the end, even if an individual nation does not get its deserts, humanity will. This generation has no future, and deserves none. Anyone who belongs to it lives no more. It is almost a consolation to realize this. All that an individual can do to get out of the wrack is to find some way of hewing out blocks of stone wherewith to found a new structure which to this generation will be nothing, and leave it as a legacy to others.[51]

Binding's prophetic words would indeed become realized: the legacy of the First World War would surely be remembered in stone, but the largest exposition of the legacy of the "lost generation" would be expressed through history itself. The mistakes made prior to and during 1914 would be repeated again and again to this very day. The language of the national community, although apparently held to be singular to the specific community, is in reality a universal logic aimed at totalizing. This is how we must look at the First World War when attempting to understand how and why this war, and the rest of the twentieth century became the horrible blood-bath that it was.

[51] Rudolf Georg Binding, *A Fatalist at War*, trans. Ian F. D. Morrow (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1929), 243.

A Translation of Lu Xun's "阿Q正□"

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Preface

Lu Xun the writer was in many ways born of the Revolution of 1911. Originally a writer of Classical Chinese, he was one of the first to write in the Vernacular following the literary revolution of 1917. This transition was prompted by the escalation of nationalistic thought and the idea that China needed to reform itself, in both the political and cultural arena. John Fairbank, in *The Cambridge History of China*, quotes Hu Shi, one of Lu Xun's contemporaries, as stating, "A dead language can never produce a living literature; if a living literature is to be produced, there must be a living tool."[1] The "living tool" quickly developed into the Vernacular. Lu Xun's power in wielding that tool was almost immediately recognized as significant. His short stories and essays were culturally relevant, criticizing China's outdated traditions and Confucian rituals. Lu Xun's first story, 狂人日記 (Kuangren Riji, or "A Madman's Diary") was published in May of 1918 and was quickly followed by his slightly longer story, 阿Q正传 (Ah Q Zhengzhuan, or "The True Story of Ah Q) in 1921.

阿Q正传was first translated into English in 1926, only four years after its initial publication, by George Kin Leung. According to the Encyclopedia of Literary Translation into English, Leung's translation "suffers from its flat and stilted

[1] John K. Fairbank, *The Cambridge History of China*, Vol. 12 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 467.

English"[2] but nevertheless retains value as the first translation of Lu Xun's writing into a Western language. In 1930, E.H.F. Mills produced a slightly abridged translation of three of Lu Xun's stories, among them "阿Q 正传", published in his volume *The Tragedy of Ah Gui*. In 1938, two years after Lu Xun's death, the first edition of his *Complete Works* was published. Presently, all of his diaries, essays, short stories, poems and translations are available.

Although translations of "阿Q 正传" emerged beginning in the 1920s, it was after 1950 that two of the most recognized translations today were produced. Yang Xianyi and Gladys Yang contributed the most comprehensive collection of Lu Xun's stories in translation in 1956, a collection which is still widely read today and within which "阿Q 正传" is translated into "fluent and smooth English"[3] that has nevertheless been criticized for being too British. Additionally, it has been pointed out that in their translation, the Yangs fail "to register the different modes in which Lu Xun writes literature in the vernacular, and by which he plays with Chinese literary language."[4] Indeed, in the Encyclopedia of Literary Translation into English, Olive Classe also points out that "some may find that the [Yangs'] translation does not reflect adequately the various idiosyncratic voices of the authors."[5]

The Yangs' translation stands in contrast to William A. Lyell's translation, *Diary of a Madman and Other Stories* in 1990. Lyell translates Lu Xun's words into American rather than British English, and, according to the Encyclopedia, "successfully capture[s] the nuances of stylistic diversity in the original…and should be commended for its abundant scholarly references."[6] Some critics will perhaps disagree; Lyell's translation, although "enthusiastic" with a style that is "racy and slangy," makes noticeable changes to the original Chinese, substituting modern American phrases for those of early twentieth century China, in a

[2] Olive Classe, "Lu Xun," *Encyclopedia of Literary Translation into English* (Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2000), 868.
[3] Ibid., 869.
[4] Jeremy Tambling, *Madmen and Other Survivors: Reading Lu Xun's Fiction* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2007), 5.
[5] Classe, "Lu Xun," 869.
[6] Ibid., 869.

clear act of domestication.[7] Hans J. Vermeer states that in all translation, "one must translate, consciously and consistently, in accordance with some principle respecting the source text."[8] Lyell's translation is widely-recognized as having a defined skopos; in fact, in his introduction to the translation, Lyell states:

> I have opted for the attempt to suggest something of Lu Xun's style in English, for more than any other modern Chinese author, Lu Xun is inseparable from his style. I have tried to recreate the experience of reading Lu Xun in Chinese, often asking myself the question, 'How would he have said this if his native language had been American English.[9]

Lyell's skopos is clearly to domesticate the text; he "leaves the reader in peace as much as possible and moves the writer towards him."[10] Lu Xun's statement, "连他先前的行状," for example, is translated as, "there is even some uncertainty regarding his 'background'"[11] in the Yangs' translation, while Lyell translates it as, "there is a great deal of uncertainty regarding his 'official resume.'"[12] The term "official resume" immediately identifies the translation as one that has been Westernized to a certain extent, as well as domesticated. Later in Lu Xun's original version, Ah Q thinks "他想：这是错的，可笑！油煎大头鱼，未庄豆加上半寸长的葱叶，城里却加上切玉德葱丝，她想：这也是错的，可笑!" which the Yangs translate (word for word) as, "'This is wrong. Ridiculous!' Again,

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[7] Tambling, *Madmen and Other Survivors*, 5.
[8] Hans J. Vermeer, "Skopos and Commission in Translational Action," *The Translation Studies Reader*, ed. Lawrence Venuti (New York: Routledge, 2000), 234.
[9] William A. Lyell, "Introduction," in Xun Lu, *Diary of a Madman and Other Stories* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1990), xl.
[10] Friedrich Schleiermacher, "On the Different Methods of Translating," *The Translation Studies Reader*, ed. Lawrence Venuti (New York: Routledge, 2000), 49.
[11] Lu Xun, *The Complete Stories of Lu Xun*, trans. Xianyi Yang and Gladys Yang (Beijing: Foreign Language Press, 1981), 17.
[12] Lu Xun, *Diary of a Madman and Other Stories*, ed. William A. Lyell (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1990), 107.

when they fried large-headed fish in oil the Weizhuang villagers all added shallots sliced in half an inch thick, whereas the townspeople added finely shredded shallots, and he thought, 'This is wrong, too. Ridiculous!"[13] Lyell, however, in one of the more obvious domestications in his translation, states, "That's not right, that's flatass stupid!' he thought to himself. 'On the other hand, I gotta remember that next to me, Wei Villagers are just a bunch of hicks. They've never even *seen* how bigheads are fried in town."[14] Lyell is arguably engaging in what Antoine Berman, in his essay "Translation and the Trials of the Foreign," calls Qualitative Impoverishment. Lyell, in his use of modern American slang, has "replace[d] terms, expressions and figures in the original with terms, expressions and figures which lack their signifying or 'iconic' richness."[15]

Lyell's domestication of the text is almost at odds with his insertion of numerous footnotes in order to explain cultural references. Lyell makes a conscious effort to preserve many of the cultural references within the text, utilizing footnotes to clarify those elements that would undoubtedly be unfamiliar to foreign readers, such as Confucian ideas taken directly from the *Analects.* The question arises, however, of the connection between Lyell's skopos and his placement of Chinese idioms throughout the text. Throughout most of the text, Lyell is indeed seen to domesticate in accordance with his aforementioned skopos. However, if Lu Xun's "native language had been American English,"[16] his culture arguably would have been born of America as well. He certainly would not have quoted the *Analects,* nor would he have mentioned Confucius. Lyell chooses not to alter the Chinese, a decision that does not align with his use of terms such as "hicks" and "flatass." Though he does not mention this in his introduction, it can be assumed that his translation encompasses more than one skopos.

[13] Lu Xun, *The Complete Stories of Lu Xun*, 19.
[14] Lu Xun, *Diary of a Madman and Other Stories*, 108.
[15] Antoine Berman, "Translation and the Trials of the Foreign," *The Translation Studies Reader*, ed. Lawrence Venuti (New York: Routledge, 2000), 283.
[16] Lyell, "Introduction," xl.

A New Translation of Lu Xun's "阿 Q 正 传"

阿Q "先前阔", 口识高, 而且"真能做", 本来几乎是一个"完人"了, 但可惜他本质上还有一些缺点。最恼人的是在他头皮上颇有几处不知起于任时的癞疮疤。这虽然也在他的身体, 而看阿Q的意思, 倒也似乎以为不足贵的, 因为他讳说"癞"以及以切近于"□"的音, 后来推而广之, "光"也讳, "亮"也讳, 再后来, 连"灯""烛"也讳, 一犯讳, 不问后心与无心, 阿Q便全疤通红的发起怒来, 估量了对手, 口讷的他便骂, 其力小的他便打; 然而不知怎么一回事, 总还是阿Q吃亏的时候多。于是他渐渐的变了方针, 大抵改为怒目而视了。

1 Ah Q used to be a "well-off" man of far-
2 reaching knowledge and experience. He
3 was "highly competent" and, originally,
4 almost a "perfect person," but
5 unfortunately, he had a few physical flaws,
6 the most annoying of which were on his
7 scalp. He had a few patches where at some
8 uncertain time leprosy scars had appeared.
9 Although these scars were a part of his
10 own body, Ah Q did not seem to find
11 them adequately noble, because he
12 avoided mentioning the word "leprosy"
13 as well as any words that sounded like it.

14 Later, he expanded upon this, refusing to
15 say the words “light” and “bright”. Later
16 still, even “lamp” and “candle” became
17 forbidden words. The moment anyone
18 said any of these words, whether
19 intentionally or not, Ah Q would become
20 furious, all of his scars turning red. He
21 would assess the perpetrator – if it were
22 someone who was weak in language, he
23 would verbally abuse him, and if it were
24 someone weak in strength, he would hit
25 him. Yet, peculiarly, it was usually Ah Q
26 who came off worse. As a result, he
27 gradually changed his method of attack
28 to, for the most part, an angry glare.

Translation Notes

In my translation, I chose to foreignize, rather than domesticate. In my opinion, William Lyell’s translation produces a text that is completely unlike Lu Xun’s original text; in fact, it falls quite neatly into John Dryden’s definition of paraphrase. Lyell states, “For more than any other modern Chinese author, Lu Xun is inseparable from his style.”[1] Although agreeing with this statement, I do not believe that Lyell’s translation has preserved Lu Xun’s unique style. Therefore, even though I did not produce a word for word translation, I attempted to bring the reader to the author. In doing so, however, I recognized immediately several problems that other translators had experienced.

I chose this particular passage for one simple reason: when I first read it in English, I did not understand it. Perhaps due to the fact that I was well aware that it was translated from Chinese, I wondered if a pun had existed within the Chinese that had been lost in translation. Specifically, I did not understand why Ah Q extended his taboo to include words such as “bright” and “lamp.” I thought that perhaps the Chinese words for “bright,” “lamp,” etc. rhymed with the Chinese word for “leprosy,” and that the resulting joke would not translate easily into English, due to the lack of

[1] Ibid., lv.

homonyms. I thought that if I translated this passage myself, I could translate it in such a way that those reading it in English would also be able to understand the joke, or, at the very least, better understand the passage itself. I wondered if I could produce a foreignizing translation that was a bit clearer. After reading the passage in its original Chinese, however, I did not experience any immediate moment of clarity, as I expected I would – none of the words in question seemed to rhyme in the slightest. Only after considering the passage for a length of time did I come to any semblance of a conclusion. The passage, like much of Lu Xun's writing, is polysemous. Ah Q is by very nature a foolish character. The fact that he associates seemingly arbitrary words with his scars attests to that; the passage therefore can indeed be read simply as intending to further convey Ah Q's idiocy. However, it is also possible that Ah Q fears the shiny, reflective nature of his scars, and mere mention of any word that signifies a light-producing object angers him. When I referred to the Yangs' translation, I discovered that while I translated the phrase "癩 疮 疤" as "leprosy scars," the Yangs' had translated it as "shiny ringworm scars," and Lyell had translated it as "shiny scars" from "an attack of scabies." The term "shiny," however, is completely absent from Lu Xun's original work; in fact, aside from the words "light," "bright," etc., there are no terms in the story that even have the slightest connotation of reflection. Obviously, both the Yangs and Lyell deemed the passage unambiguous in meaning, and inserted the phrase "shiny" to give English readers an early clue of the joke to come. However, if there is no "early clue" present in the Chinese, then it is possible that Chinese readers and Westerners reading a foreignized translation are equally likely to either understand or be confused by the passage. Lu Xun's positioning of a subtle joke within his lines is evidence of his unique, polysemous style, a style that even Lyell has acknowledged as "inseparable" from Lu Xun himself.[2] In their efforts to participate in what Antoine Berman calls "clarification," both the Yangs and Lyell have slightly diluted the subtlety of Lu Xun's style in their translations. In my translation, I decided not to leave the original

[2] Ibid., xl.

joke in peace, choosing not to clarify (or hint at, as the case may be) in English what is not clarified in Lu Xun's original Chinese.

Another major issue I encountered with my translation, one that has probably become evident by my discussion in the previous paragraph, also deals with the phrase "癩 疮 疤." "癩" is pronounced "lai," and is, quite simply, a sore-producing skin disease. The two characters that follow it – "疮", which means "sore", and "疤", which means "scar" – do not alter the disease itself; rather, they merely intensify the severity of the disease. "癩," then, is not leprosy, nor is it scabies or ringworm. In fact, it has no name in English, nor, it seems, is it specific in Chinese. In a twentieth century Chinese hospital, three patients who have leprosy, scabies and ringworm, respectively, could all be diagnosed has being plagued by "癩." When I first translated the passage, I decided not to translate the term "癩", and, in accordance with my skopos of foreignizing, simply left it as a Chinese character. However, as I continued to translate, when I arrived at the terms "light," "bright," "lamp," and "candle," I found myself in an impossible situation. By allowing the character "癩" to remain in my English translation, I had made it almost impossible for readers to understand not only the joke, but the passage as a whole, which is in opposition to my reasons for translating in the first place. My skopos, in this instance, could not exist peacefully with my desire to make the passage readable. I decided, therefore, that I would choose a term that was more foreign than ringworm or scabies, as I believed both of those terms domesticated "癩" to a greater degree than was necessary. In modern Western society, "scabies" has a comical air, while "ringworm" does not quite have the connotations of severity that is attached to the term "癩" in Chinese. Leprosy, with its connotations of irregularity and gravity, as well as the slight air of mystery that surrounds it, seemed to be a better fit. In choosing the term "leprosy," I believe I was able to preserve my skopos while at the same time, producing a comprehensible translation.

The last sizable problem I encountered in my translation was Lu Xun's use of quotation marks to designate commonly-used phrases in twentieth-century Chinese society. In his first line (lines 1-3), he uses the phrase, "先 前 阔", which I translated as "used

to be a well-off man." "先 前" simply means "previously" or "in the past." However, the term "阔" is polysemous, and can be used to mean "rich," "broad" or simply "good." Lyell chooses to translate the term as "rich," while I chose "well-off." Though I do believe Lu Xun is stating that Ah Q used to be wealthy, I wanted to choose a term that would attempt to preserve the polysemy of "阔" in my English translation.

Transference and the Ego: A (Psycho)Analysis of Interpsychic Translation

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Translation is a necessary part of ordinary psychological development. A successful translation brings with it "unpleasure" because the *Kultur* in which we live is a veneer of things we know and have to suppress in order to mitigate the demands of the id (*das Es*). Repression (*die verdrangung*) is motivated by our desire not to feel unpleasure through translation. According to Freud, manifestations of the id (*das Es*) are translated through the ego (*das Ich*). The ego acts as the translator of drives (*der Trieb*) into acceptable actions. Through the process of psychoanalysis, the analyst assumes the role of the translator (ego).

Freud believed that spoken language is not important to analysis of the unconscious. Spoken language has limits that do not compare to the feelings or effects of the drives within us. In nominalism, the thing is what the name is. Reality is bound by the name you ascribe to that reality. Therefore, the world is defined by the limits of language and given names. A notion of German Romanticism is the possibility of infinite potentiation of language. Language lacking limits has a magical quality that links two worlds. There is a double consciousness between the two worlds of thought/drive and the linguistic expression of the thought/drive.

One defines the other and they are interlocked. When drives are translated into words by the ego and then expressed, this double consciousness produces a double figuration. There is a translation process from drive into language within the self, and then another translation from language of the self into an outward expression to the analyst.

The process of transference (*die Übertragung*) is suggested by Freud to be a false connection. The client experiences thoughts, feelings, and memories derived from previous events and relationships and projects these onto the analyst. In this process, through the translation of thoughts into expression to the analyst, the client redirects feelings towards the analyst himself/herself. The connection is false because instead of fixing the actual problem, the problem is transferred to the analyst. The patient believes that through expression, he/she is being finally understood. The client may develop erotic feelings for the therapist; these feelings may actually form a barrier and interfere with the analyst helping the client.

Freud believed that the desire for cathexis (*die Besetzung*) drives us. Cathexis is the libido's charge of energy. This psychic energy is attached to a person, object, or body. The release of this charge of energy creates a feeling of pleasure, whereas, a successful translation brings with it "unpleasure." Repression and transference are defense mechanisms used to cope with the unconscious unpleasure.

Freud believed in three kinds of translations: intrasystemic, intersystemic, and interpsychic. An intrasystemic translation occurs writing a system of one language where there is a transfer of one to another. An intersystemic translation is between languages or somatic systems. For example, a hysteric performs an intersystemic translation from body (ailments) to language (complaints). The type of translation most applicable to transference (*die Übertragung*) is interpsychic. This translation focuses on the shift from object to object. Counter-transference is also an interpsychic translation.

According to Freud, all of the following are translations: dreams, hysterical, obsessive and phobic symptomatologies, parapraxes, fetishes, choice of means of suicide, and the analyst's interpretations. To focus on the last example, the analyst's own

interpretations are a translation of the client's expressed emotions and behaviors. If the analyst is translating the already translated double figuration, he/she becomes a third variable that deduces the original drive (*das Trieb*). The analyst becomes the ego, but is only human and thus imperfect. A translator can make mistakes, and drives can be translated inaccurately. The ego cannot make mistakes unless it is pressured by the id to act in a malevolent way. The translator can easily make a mistake in evaluating a patient if he/she is not careful.

In analyzing the patient, it is pivotal to be accurate in order to provide an appropriate treatment plan. If the analyst makes mistakes in translation, he/she is putting the patient at risk. One way in which the analyst could make an error is by becoming too involved in the patient's own testimonies and narratives and thus transfer his/her own repressed feelings to the patient. This is a phenomenon known as counter-transference. Counter-transference may lead to a skewed translation of drives.

Whereas Freud emphasizes transference and counter-transference as projective identification techniques through an interpsychic translation, the French psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan revises Freud in viewing the self as constituted by its relationship to an other, with the primary developmental stage beginning with the experience of viewing oneself in a mirror. Lacan's mirror stage is the first moment in which the subject recognizes the self in a mirrored reflection. A transformation takes place when the subject assumes identification in an image. This transformation becomes an interpsychic translation.

Lacan described his ideas as "Return to Freud" because he translated the ideas of Freud into a structural-linguistic terminology that removed agency and subjectivity in their interpretation. Though Lacan believed his philosophy was "Return to Freud" in nature, many of his ideas differed significantly from Freud's. For instance, Freud believed that the unconscious and linguistic conscious were two separate entities, very segregated and only joined through the ego's translation. Lacan, on the other hand, believed that the unconscious was as complicated as the conscious and therefore also structured linguistically. "For Lacan, Freud's central insight was not…that the unconscious exists, but that it has structure, that this structure affects in innumerable ways

what we say and do, and that in thus betraying itself it becomes accessible to analysis."[1]

Julia Kristeva departs from Lacanian ideology and argues that Lacan's bracketing of the drives (*Trieb*) "castrates" Freud's discovery. In Kelly Oliver's "Kristeva's Imaginary Father and the Crisis of the Paternal Function," she writes, "Kristeva, protecting the Father of psychoanalysis from this castration threat by his most prodigal son, reinscribes the drives in language. Her tactic is to reinscribe language in the body, arguing that the dynamics that operate the Symbolic are already working within the material of the body and the presymbolic imaginary."[2] It was Kristva's goal to trace the signifier through the body in order to reinscribe the body in language at the same time.

For herself, Kristeva sets up the difficult task of connecting the body and language, and she chose to do so by recovering a repressed maternal body and the abject maternal body. The connection of language to body is an interpsychic translation because it translates one object through another object. This case uses language and bodies as the two objects. In addition to the maternal body, Kristeva uses the notion of the imaginary father to connect body and language. The imaginary father is defined by Oliver as a screen for the mother's love, associated, as it is, with the child's relationship to its conception and the mother's womb. "The imaginary father provides the support necessary to allow the child to move into the Symbolic. This is a move from the mother's body to the mother's desire through the mother's love…The semiotic body is abjected if necessary, but only for the sake of what motivates the bond in the first place: maternal love."[3] Maternal love is a translator from body to desire, and therefore an interpsychic translation. In order to understand this translation, it is necessary to understand the notion of the semiotic body of Kristeva and mirror stage of Lacan.

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[1] Malcolm Bowie, "Jacques Lacan," *Structuralism and Since: From Lévi-Strauss to Derrida*, ed. John Sturrock (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), 118

[2] Kelly Oliver, "Kristeva's Imaginary Father and the Crisis in the Paternal Function," *Diacritics*, Vol. 21, No. 2/3, A Feminist Miscellany (Summer/Autumn, 1991), 43.

[3] Ibid., 44.

Kristeva believes that semiotic activity is the work of drives that stem from a semiotic body.[4] She studies the drives that emerge prior to the mirror stage. Kristeva searches to describe the way in which the infant body becomes the body proper. Oliver writes, "She (Kristeva) complains that for Lacan the subject is constituted at the expense of "the real," the drives, from which the subject will forever be cut off."[5] Kristeva wants to move away from the notion of symbolic drives and focus on the real. For Lacan, drives are symbolic. The analyst must assume the role of the ego and translate the symbolic drives expressed by a client.

Kristeva is concerned with Lacan's concept of the drive (*Trieb*) because if the drive is already a symbol, the process of signification becomes lost and the move between the semiotic and the symbolic is "replaced with nothingness." The lack brings out the unitary being of the subject, and the subject's being is founded on this lack. Therefore, the drives are lost. "The subject of desire lives at the expense of his drives, ever in search of the lacking object."[6] At this point, it is the role of the analyst to step in and interpret the drive so that the drive is not searching futilely for a missing object. If the translator cannot assist, there is the threat of no transference and therefore no interpsychic translation. The one being translated is stuck in a confused state and is unable to replace one object with another. However, there is also the optimistic notion of the subject translating his/her own drives without the assistance of a therapist who could skew the translation if transference, counter-transference, or a simply a misinterpretation of drives occurs. There is the idea of bringing back the semiotic body to define the self without a third-party translator. The ego itself can translate.

"For Kristeva, within Lacanian theory the living body is sacrificed to desire. It becomes only a sign."[7] Kristeva argues that when language is not mixed with drives, the drives become repressed. Since the drives are repressed, one must enter into the

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[4] Julia Kristeva, *Desire in Language: A Semiotic Approach to Literature and Art* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1980), 136.
[5] Julia Kristeva, *Revolution in Poetic Language* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1984), 131.
[6] Oliver, "Kristeva's Imaginary Father," 44.
[7] Ibid., 45.

symbolic realm and transcend the self to discover them. Drives/desires/emotions experienced in the symbolic realm are not real, and when one enters this realm for too long or cannot escape, he/she must search for a translator to help them come back to the real world. This translator is the analyst/therapist. However, losing the ability to distinguish between the real world and imaginary or symbolic, is becoming psychotic. In Kristeva's *Revolution in Poetic Language*, she writes, "…the exemplary subject of Lacanian desire is the masochistic neurotic engaging in autocastration and bodily mutilation or the completely catatonic body of the clinical schizophrenic."[8] Translation of drives is a necessary part of psychological development and must be done to remove the self from the symbolic realm and understand the real.

Kristeva has several specific concerns with Lacan's mirror stage. They are:

> Lacan's account of the mirror stage emphasizes the body as other, the body as symbol reflected in the "mirror." It throws us into a hall of mirrors where we can no longer identify the "real" of the body; the real body is impossible…Lacan's account covers over the fact that without the body there would be no reflection in the mirror.[9]

Here, Kristeva struggles to explain what motivates the transition from the presymbolic to the symbolic. Oliver writes that "Lacan, of course, posits the castration threat as the motive. But in order to experience this threat in the first place, the child must take the position as a subject in the mirror stage."[10] The child must realize that simultaneously he/she is and is not his/her image. The image is a symbol, but it is also real. To see what is real, a translation must occur between the body and the image of the body, the other. Kristeva argues that the mirror stage requires a negation of the other to identify the subject as self.

A translation is impossible when one cannot distinguish between subject and other. If there is no transference between

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[8] Kristeva, *Revolution in Poetic Language*, 132
[9] Oliver, "Kristeva's Imaginary Father," 45.
[10] Ibid., 45.

object and another there is also no transcendence of the subject. The subject is stuck in a realm without the possibility of self-discovery and needs a translator to explain the symbolic and the real. Herein lies another problem identified by Kristeva with Lacan's theory: the paradox of its cyclical motion. She believes that for Lacan, "…the child takes a position as subject so that he can negate his image in order to take a position as subject."[11] Clearly, when the mirror stage is already symbolic, it cannot be used to explain the onset of the Symbolic. Kristeva believes that the only way to explain the change from presymbolic to symbolic is to acknowledge the "material element, which is heterogeneous to the Symbolic." Rejection is not unique to the symbolic, but it operates first in the semiotic body. This is different from Lacan's view that the symbol opens up the world of negativity.

Kristeva uses psychoanalytic principles of Freud to further prove that negativity is "gestural and kinetic – the bodily act of throwing and retrieving the reel."[12] She believes that the Symbolic is founded both in lack and excess because if it were "merely founded on a lack, then there is all the more reason for avoiding it altogether, for taking refuge in neurosis and psychosis."[13] Since the primary example of material negativity is anality, the notion of the Symbolic founded solely on lack is disrupted. "In anality, rejection precedes the Symbolic."[14] This disproves the Lacanian theory that the move from presymbolic to symbolic is motivated by a castration threat or sense of lack. In the place of lack, Kristeva credits the notion of excess and pleasure that moves the child into the Symbolic realm. The id and libido drives are therefore keys in the discovery of the Symbolic realm. Excess is equally as harmful as lack, and best controlled by the ego. Drives must be translated by the ego to make sense of the self and remain balanced.

Kristeva's feminist psychoanalytic theory places an emphasis Lacan's notion of returning to dyadic union. Lacan believed that we are unconsciously trying to return to the dyadic union of mother and child, which is lost in the mirror stage. Kristeva explores the maternal function in and before the child's

[11] Ibid., 45.
[12] Kristeva, *Revolution in Poetic Language*, 170.
[13] Oliver, "Kristeva's Imaginary Father," 45.
[14] Kristeva, *Revolution in Poetic Language*, 151.

attaining of subjectivity and entrance into the Symbolic realm. "For her, material rejection operates according to a maternal logic, which prefigures the Law of the Father. This law before the Law is the law of the mother's body which regulates the oral and anal drives."[15] To explain this notion of law before Law, Kristeva uses the semiotic *chora*, the organizing principle of the maternal body. Kristeva defines the *chora* in a footnote in "Le sujet en proces":

> The chora is a womb or a nurse in which elements are without identity and without reason. The chora is a place of chaos and which is and which becomes, preliminary to the constitution of the first measurable body…the chora plays with the body of the mother – of woman – , but in the signifying process."[16]

In the *chora*, "maternal regulation sets up paternal prohibition." The mother is the regulator of what goes into and out of her child's body. She regulates the child's body in relation to her own. "Kristeva maintains that the first sounds the child makes mimic his mother-child dyadic bodily relationship."[17] The mother acts as the translator for her child's drives, filtering out the important and unimportant so that there is no excess or lack.

In order for the child to see itself as a separate entity from his/her mother, an interpsychic translation from object to object is required. The child must see the difference of his/her being from the mother in order to attain more complex drives of his/her own and language. When the child can see himself/herself as separate from the mother, there is the responsibility to translate drives with one's own ego. This may create a problem for those who are dependent on the translations of their mothers for what is right and wrong. When the child realizes that he/she is not the mother, he/she becomes a new subject and creates new language that mimics the words of the mother. Kristeva argues that, "…it is the incorporation of the patterns of language through speech of the other that enables the infant to communicate and thus commune

[15] Ibid., 27.
[16] Julia Kristeva, "Le sujet en proces," *Polylogue* (Paris: Seuil, 1974), 57.
[17] Oliver, "Kristeva's Imaginary Father," 46.

with others."[18] Since communication is central in psychotherapy, language and imitation translation of the mother's language in is necessary for transcendence of the self. When the child's realization in the mirror stage forces a break in the dyadic union, the child's own ego must become the translator. The mother as translator of drives will no longer suffice because the connection has been severed.

For Kristeva, to become autonomous, a child must break away from identification by abjecting its mother. The child "…must move from an identification with the mother's nourishing breast to an identitication with its own birth and the horrifying maternal sex…"[19] Abjection is defined as "an absence (the normative condition of the pre-mirror-stage *infans*) or a collapse (the condition of the borderline patient) of the boundaries that structure the subject." Kristeva herself defines abjection as what disturbs identity, system, and order."[20] Kristeva's writings suggest that the maternal body is an abject threat to the Symbolic. Examples of prohibition against the maternal body are seen though the oedipal prohibition against incest of Freud, against maternal desire (*jouissance)* of Lacan, and/or against the semiotic *chora* of Kristeva.[21]

For Kristeva, the primary drive pleasure threatens the Symbolic, and is therefore repressed. Oliver writes that, "It (the maternal body) threatens to uncover the process that leads to the appearance of unity and thereby expose that unity as merely one moment in the process. The unity of reason or consciousness cannot admit that it is part of a process that alternates between unity and the fragmentation and repetition of drives."[22] The mother and child must sacrifice their connection so that the child can become a subject proper.

While the mother and child are in a dyadic union, the mother negotiates the demands of the child's drives. The mother, in providing a good model for behavior and language, also acts in

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[18] Ibid., 47.
[19] Ibid., 47.
[20] Shuli Barzilai, "Borders of Language: Kristeva's Critique of Lacan," *PMLA*, Vol. 106, No. 2. (Mar., 1991), 295.
[21] Oliver, 50.
[22] Ibid., 48.

the role of the superego. However, once the mother becomes the abject, she does not correspond to an ego.[23] The abject is excluded from the superego because it threatens the Symbolic and the identity of the newly established and autonomous subject. The child now is forced to create his/her own supergo and ego to manage the demands of the drives.

For Lacan, an interpretive act centers on the indirection of language. In Volume 7 of *Comparative Criticism*, Gary Handwerk writes on Lacan's indirection of language and uses a translation to explain the detours taken by the speaking subject in the path to communication, "…That in which one must be interested is in the point of knowing why she wished precisely that the other person understand that, and why she did not say it to him clearly, but by allusion…If you understand, you are wrong…"[24] Lacan's analysis of the indirection of language can be used to explain an ironic sense of self-identity which "lies at the heard of ironic self-presentation."[25] The child who has just recognized his/her image in a mirror reflection becomes the subject who is dependent on others for status at any point. Hardwerk writes, "There is no such entity as a subject, except by and with other subjects. This is a subject whose definition is finally impossible…it is the sum of its interrupted encounters with all its significant others, which serve as moments of entry into death…which alone can definitively identify the subject."[26] The subject becomes the other in the mirror stage. For Freud, the risk of reduction of otherness is solved by internalizing the other within the self. The unconscious is an other that is always surrounding the subject. Even in becoming a separate subject from the mother, the unconscious is not accessible. The unconscious cannot be translated. Lacan writes, "That in the subject, which is in the object and is not of the subject, is the unconscious. The unconscious exists in and through speech, but is inaccessible insofar as the signification of that speech can remain concealed, censured by the ego."[27] The ego translates

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[23] Ibid., 48.
[24] Gary J. Handwerk, "Lacan on Psychoanalyis and Literature," *Comparative Criticism* Vol. 7 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 106.
[25] Ibid., 107.
[26] Ibid., 107.
[27] Ibid., 108.

selectively to protect the self, and filters the drives that are harmful to the body and mind.

Drives are essential to being human. The conscious, unconscious and preconscious are all translated into behaviors and emotions. In dyadic union, the mother is the translator for the child's drives. Her translation is perfect until the child realizes they must be their own being in the mirror-stage of development. In a break from the dyadic union, the child attains subjectivity and agency. At this point, the mother loses the ability to translate the drives of her child and the child's drives are translated by the self. The ego of the child becomes the translator of drives. The ego is a stable and accurate translator, unless defense mechanisms fail and the unconscious drives of the id pervade. If the ego fails to be a translator that molds to fit societal and cultural norms, the subject may decide to go through psychotherapy. At this point, the analyst is the translator. The analyst, however, will never be as effective as the mother or unblemished ego since the translation gets skewed as it is passed from self to language to analyst. The pure translation of the mother is lost in development of the child. Although the loss of the pure translation is unconscious, it creates an "unpleasure" that cannot be rectified. The self is not in a constant state of suffering, however, so long as the ego can compensate for the "unpleasure" through its own interpsychic translation and defense mechanisms such as transference. In psychological development, an interpsychic translation by the ego takes the place of a pure translation of the mother.

Overstepping Otherness: Christine de Pizan and Letitia Elizabeth Landon's Genealogical Retranslations of Canonized Text

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Goethe writes, "Everything great molds us from the moment we become aware of it."[1] Harold Bloom's essay "Antithetical Criticism: An Introduction," the precursor to *The Anxiety of Influence*, relates how every poet must face anxiety about surmounting preceding poets. The Romantic poets—Wordsworth, Keats, Coleridge, Byron, Shelley, Blake—were faced with going beyond Milton who had to surpass Donne who had to somehow transcend Shakespeare, etc. As each new poet is faced with a genealogy that they must rise above in order to canonize themselves, they confront a problem that leads to an undeniable anxiety. What these poets must do to overcome genealogy is to find a way to retranslate previous poets in order to canonize

[1] Harold Bloom, "Antithetical Criticism: An Introduction," *Diacritics* Vol. 1, No. 2. (Winter, 1971): 40.

themselves. This pursuit, not only incredibly difficult for a male writer to accomplish, is even more complicated for the 'Other:' woman. For feminine canonization, woman must not only transcend those of a genealogical past, woman must overcome a principally patriarchal history which forces a radical retranslation of the male dominated canon. Christine de Pizan, a medieval French writer, and Letitia Elizabeth Landon, a Romantic poet, are women who, though faced with Otherness, broke the bounds of not only the male canon but also patriarchal definitions of woman. This goal is accomplished through 'completion' of a canonized author's text and, often, a calculated misreading of a text to further explore or present it in a feminine aspect. Christine and Landon are forced to retranslate important texts—they must "invaginate" a source text and, in completing or mistranslating the text, allow their retranslation to grant female canonization, genealogically based political progress, and, ultimately, an affirmation of their personal uniqueness in the realm of a feminine genius.

"The Only Female Member of a Male Canon": Christine de Pizan's Genealogical Retranslation for Means of Canonization

Christine de Pizan overcomes genealogy by first canonizing herself among male figures of an older canon. Keven Brownlee's article "Christine de Pizan: Gender and the New Vernacular Canon" reveals how Christine writes a series of autobiographical accounts in which she encounters Jean de Meun, Dante, Ovid, Boccaccio, and Boethius—who all act as a personal canon for her to transcend. "In these works, Christine engages quite polemically with each of her authorities in turn, rewriting these *auctores* in accord with the requirements of her ongoing and self-authorizing autobiographical project. At the same time, she establishes her own status as a member of the new multilingual canon—French, Italian, Latin—that she has set into place as such."[2] Christine is thus, by rewriting these *auctores*, retranslating them. She will not only 'complete' their texts from her perspective

[2] Kevin Brownlee, "Christine de Pizan: Gender and the New Vernacular Canon," *Strong Voices, Weak History: Early Women Writers and Canons in England, France, and Italy*, ed. Pamela Joseph Benson and Victoria Kirkham (Ann Arbor, MI: Michigan UP, 2005), 100.

but will also retranslate from the source text into a dynamic, "hybrid" target language[3].

Christine de Pizan begins by displacing Jean de Meun: "…the single most important author figure in the French vernacular canon."[4] She does this in her *Debat sur le "Roman de la Rose*" which is translated as *Debate on the "Romance of the Rose.*" Christine presents a public debate on de Meun's text, *Romance of the Rose,* as an event in her autobiography. This debate not only undermines de Meun's text but is also the first ever such debate in French literary history.[5] Second, in *Chemin de longue estude*, Christine manipulates Dante's *Divine Comedy* in a narrative that presents her as a regendered Italian Dante who writes in French.[6] Next, "…the onset of her widowhood and the beginning of her literary career" is set in *Mutacion de Fortune* in a retranslation of Ovid's *Metamorphosis* which focuses on a gender transformation of woman to man. Christine is able to empower herself as a woman historian but also reveal a startling gender change.[7] Not only is Christine rewriting and completing these canonized works in relation to an autobiographical context—penetrating the texts with the feminine—she is also constructing herself as a woman who has lived *through* and beyond these men. The fourth retranslation is in the *Cite des Dames*, where Christine de Pizan "…radically and visibly rewrites her Boccaccian model, the *De mulieribus claris*,…in such a way as to present herself as a 'corrected' Boccaccio figure, regendered, vernacularized, and writing in the first person. Boccaccio's third-person, male-authored Latin treatise on women is rewritten as Christine's French autobiography."[8] Coming out of a retranslation of Boccaccio, Christine then authoritatively cites herself as an *auctor* in the *Livre des Trois Vertus.* By doing this, she presents herself as a member of her canon and then completes this personal canon in part 3 of the *Avision*.[9] Here, Christine "stages herself…as a regendered

[3] Christine de Pizan was bilingual in French and Italian which shows in her writing.
[4] Brownlee, "Christine de Pizan: Gender and the New Vernacular Canon," 101.
[5] Ibid., 101.
[6] Ibid., 101.
[7] Ibid., 101.
[8] Ibid., 101.
[9] Ibid., 101-102.

Boethius" who is also the "legitimate descendent—as autobiographical subject, as writer, and as thinker—of her "canonical predecessor."[10] Christine uses genealogical retranslation to insert herself as the only female member of an all male canon.

In penetrating and entering an all male canon, despite presenting herself as regendered, Christine is faced with the problem of masculinization. In *Cite des Dames* Christine constructs an all-female canon and, as its writer and creator, successfully transcends her own text. She does this by presenting the female writers Cornificia, Proba, and Sappho as masters of their craft. Cornificia "…through a combination of native talent and exceptionally hard study, becomes a master poet."[11] Proba is similarly shown as a master poet but also a master Virgilian. Proba's work consists of rewriting Virgil under a feminine-Christian lens.[12] Sappho's literary innovation and productivity are stressed as well as the idea that her literary achievements go beyond the classical world and maintain influence in the present. Furthermore, Carmenta—the inventor of the Latin alphabet—and Minerva—as a Greek maiden taken for a goddess and also inventor of a shorthand Greek script—are also situated within the text.[13] These women all share a common theme in that they are able to attain achievements that are equal to if not more superior than their male counterparts. Christine de Pizan's strategy "…for establishing herself as a new kind of "canonical" woman writer involves her presentation of an all-female literary and writerly canon firmly situated in the temporal remoteness of the classical world. The fifteenth-century Christine is authorized by the example of this canon but remains distant from it." Thus, since this canon does not include any contemporary woman writers, Christine maintains authority as the only and best of the new canon. As well, *Cite des Dames* authorizes her as truly the only *woman* writer in an all male canon. Far from complete regendering of herself, she creates and situates herself in a

[10] Ibid., 102.
[11] Ibid., 102.
[12] Ibid., 102.
[13] Ibid., 103.

woman's canon which asserts her undeniable femininity and uniqueness.

After positioning herself above both a past male and female canon, Christine then takes the steps necessary to maintain a genealogical link to contemporary French poets that are developing a new vernacular literary canon in tying herself to Eustache Deschamps. In a letter to Deschamps, she sets up a "hierarchical, genealogical relationship with Deschamps" by naming him as a distinguished poet and then saying that she is his student or even disciple.[14] Christine formulates an identity with Deschamps from just writing to him. Deschamps responds in a ballade in which he bestows upon her "canonical status" and even names her his "sweet sister."[15] In setting up a master-disciple relationship with Deschamps, she links herself again to the vernacular canon. This genealogical stratagem reinforces Christine's autobiographical retranslations of Jean de Meun, Dante, Ovid, Boccaccio, and Boethius and her recreation and feminine emphasis of the lives of Sappho, Cornificia, and Proba because it further separates her from them. With this third genealogy, Christine strengthens her contemporariness *and* femininity. As she is clearly a woman—thanks to the second genealogy—this last genealogy makes her unique in her status as the only female writer of a male canon. "Her 'unique' status as *female* canonical writer is doubled by special links to two key classical writerly models, which provide her with a kind of supplementary prestige at the same time as they highlight her own exemplary characteristics as a writerly model in her own right…"[16] Christine is figured not as a member of a classical canon or a womanly canon, but "…as the only female member of a male canon"—one who looked Otherness in the face and transcended it.

The Penetration of the Poetess: Letitia Landon's Use of Genealogical Retranslation in Subverting the Identity of the "Poetess"

According to Virginia Blain, the word "poetess" was used in the late Romantic/early Victorian period to denote a female

[14] Ibid., 105.
[15] Ibid., 106.
[16] Ibid., 108.

poet. At its most neutral, it was a generic term but, often, the connotation was derogatory. Similar to "poetaster," "poetess" could signify a woman poet who simply imitates men or true poetry and ascends no higher.[17] Letitia Landon, one of the first "poetesses," interestingly expresses and embraces the dual nature of the poetess. Glennis Stephenson suggests Landon's "Poetic self, L.E.L., manages to challenge and subvert, at the very same time as it submits to, the boundaries assigned to the poetess."[18] Landon, as a professional poet, was a self-sufficient woman who wrote to ensure the survival of her family. She would write about what would *sell*—romance, sensuality, vicariousness, etc. Thus, she plays the role of the imitator but, similar to Christine de Pizan, actually uses genealogical subversion underneath her words to canonize herself. In mistranslation and retranslation of already quickly canonized Romantic male poets, Landon establishes herself among and even beyond their accomplishments.

Identified as the "Byron of our Poetesses," Landon actively manipulated Byronic texts in her pursuits. Adriana Craciun writes that in "The Enchantress," "Landon develops a Promethean, distinctly Luciferean model of poetic identity and self-creation. She accomplishes this by rewriting the biblical fall, and the birth of a poet, in a distinctly (proto)feminist way and yet also Byronic way."[19] Landon identifies that Byron's heroes are dangerously misogynistic and, in doing so, defines the possibility of the woman poet rather than poetess.[20] The heroine of this text can be viewed as a regendered extension of Manfred and the speaking self never allowed to Astarte.[21] In *Manfred*, a dramatic poem by Lord Byron, Manfred is a Byronic hero—fallen, alone, refusing to be dominated, and introspective. Astarte, his love, dies when she sees Manfred in his fallen nature and symbolizes the notion that women become the victims of liberty—those dependent upon the patriarchy die. Manfred, refusing to be dominated even by God,

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[17] Virginia Blain, "Letitia Elizabeth Landon, Eliza Mary Hamilton, and the Genealogy of the Victorian Poetess," *Victorian Poetry* 33, No. 1 (Spring 1995): 32.
[18] Ibid., 46.
[19] Adriana Craciun, *Fatal Women of Romanticism* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge UP, 2003), 204-205.
[20] Ibid., 205.
[21] Ibid., 206.

cannot escape himself or his memory[22] but can escape, for at least some time, from the patriarchy. Manfred wants knowledge and spiritual power but, ultimately, cannot create this freedom without destruction. Landon retranslates the Byronic Manfred into a female Medora in "The Enchantress." Medora is similarly Satanic[23] but also, "Like Byron's Astarte then, the Enchantress has both Manfred's immortal longings, forbidden knowledge, and disillusionment, as well as the pity and tenderness which he lacked, and loved in Astarte."[24] Furthermore, the Byronic Enchantress, out of pity, assumes the life of the dying Medora—showing Landon's notion that the "Satanic overreacher" acquiring forbidden knowledge is, in Byron's poetry, "attained largely at the expense of women."[25] Landon 'misreads' Byron in order retranslate and regender the Byronic hero. Through misreading, Landon completes the hero and gives a voice to the female characters in Byron's poetry. She revises "Byronic conceits" for a distinctly feminist end—empowering the woman with speech.

Landon also rereads and retranslates Shelley and Wordsworth. Craciun connects "The Prophetess" as a response to Shelley's "Ozymandias."[26] In "Ozymandias" a first person narrator meets a traveler who found a statue in the desert. This statue is of Ozymandias, the king of kings, who arrogantly commands one to look on his great works and despair, but now nothing remains except the colossal wreck of the statue. Similar to "Ozymandias," the Prophetess "teaches that human work and art are powerless against destruction" but Landon does not suggest the "possibility that poetry or truth survives the desolation and decay, instead suggesting…that Power and Nothingness alone withstand time."[27] Landon again completes a canonized poet by retranslating his poetry. However, Landon interestingly manipulates a reverse notion of canonization to do it. Ideally, canonization would entail the survival of works. Instead, only power and nothingness

[22] Manfred is haunted by incest and summons Spirits to grant him forgetfulness of his past.
[23] Satanic in the sense of Satan in Milton's *Paradise Lost.*
[24] Craciun, *Fatal Women of Romanticism*, 207.
[25] Ibid., 207.
[26] Ibid., 199.
[27] Ibid., 199.

withstand time—the power to retranslate Shelley and insist on his nothingness. If Landon can, with such ease, retranslate and regender she will, as Christine, actually survive with time in the emphasis of the power of her uniqueness.

Craciun goes on to relate that in "Life Surveyed," Landon "rereads William Wordsworth's idealized nature and reveals the material decay Wordsworth tried to transcend."[28] For Wordsworth's poetry, where nature becomes an inspiration, bowers become the womb[29] and in "Tintern Abbey" this parallel is completed as the poet can establish a kind of dyadic union[30] with nature. Language is needed to describe the state, but nature can still allow for transcendence to the state. Craciun writes that: "Landon's ironic treatment [in "Life Surveyed"] of the landmark Romantic experience of transcendence on a mountain top demonstrates that the 'purity' and 'glories' of such transcendent visions are only possible through active denial of the ultimately inescapable ills of the material, and in this case distinctly urban, world and its 'close and bounded atmosphere'."[31] Landon here completely retranslates the Wordsworthian affinity with nature from that of an ultimate state of transcendence to one of denial. This retranslation not only reveals the practicality of woman in the shadow of male idealism, it reveals an acceptance of the Symbolic Order. Landon has accepted law, language, desire, civilization,

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[28] Ibid., 231.

[29] This is the case in Wordsworth's "Nutting."

[30] The dyadic union or the Imaginary is defined by Lacan as the bond between mother and child in the womb and directly afterwards. All the child knows is the mother and therefore together they have a unity. The child defines itself through the mother and really does not know the idea of "I." In order to attain subjectivity, the child must leave the dyadic union. This happens through the father in the mirror stage. Within the Symbolic Order the child becomes "I." The child sees their reflection in a mirror and realizes that they are a separate entity from the mother. When this happens, the dyadic union is broken and the child begins to have desire, law, separation, and ultimately, language as they agglomerate into a body ready to enter civilization. Lacan insists that humankind is always, unconsciously, trying to return to the dyadic union because of the repression created once one leaves the union. However, the "only" way back is through dreams and, generally, death.
Toril Moi, *Sexual/Textual Politics: Feminist Literary Theory* (New York, NY: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1985), 99-101.

[31] Craciun, *Fatal Women of Romanticism*, 231.

and consciousness—using language as her profession to survive in the urban world. This use of genealogy is not simply that of dismantling Wordsworth but, more importantly, a penetration—invagination—of Wordsworth poetry for female political progress.

This continuing motif of manipulation of genealogy for not only self-canonization but female progress is found again in Landon's retranslation of Thomas Lovell Beddoes—a non-canonized poet. Beddoes' *The Improvisatore* is retranslated in Landon's *The Improvisatrice*. Landon rewrites this long poem in a very similar format to Beddoes but from a female viewpoint to correct his "tortuous misogyny."[32] Virginia Blain suggests that she does this in her usage of Sappho as "a model of doomed female genius."[33] Sappho's problem "…is the inevitable loss of love suffered by a woman who exhibits her genius in public (prostitutes herself)…" The Sappho described in Landon's poem is similar to the poetess: she must write in the public sphere to make money or gain any recognition. But, in order for a woman to write something that a man would want to read in the 19th century she would have to write from the viewpoint of the Other. She would have to give the reader something no man could—but, in the process, possibly suffer from remaining as the Other. Landon neatly sidesteps the 'public woman' dilemma by "…constructing her poetry as a kind of tragic peepshow, and the 'poetess' as puppet/victim. This was a very successful strategy because it left an implied space beyond the L.E.L. masquerade for the reader to imagine some 'real' agent at work."[34] Landon's retranslations then often situate her writing as the Other but, when 'stripping' away the more vulgar language, a woman's genealogical pursuit for political progress is found.

Translational Transcendence of Otherness and Embracing the Feminine Genius

In *Translation and Gender: Translating in the "Era of Feminism,"* Luise von Flotow writes: "Gender awareness in translation practice poses questions about the links between social

[32] Blain, "Letitia Elizabeth Landon, Eliza Mary Hamilton, and the Genealogy of the Victorian Poetess," 41.
[33] Ibid., 41.
[34] Ibid., 43.

stereotypes and linguistic forms, about the politics of language and cultural difference, about the ethics of translation, and about reviving inaccessible works for contemporary readers. It highlights the importance of the cultural context in which translation is done."[35] Christine de Pizan and Letitia Landon both retranslate their predecessors in explicitly gendered ways. Canonized texts are retranslated as Christine and Landon invaginate them—penetrating the text for distinct, genealogically based political progress. These women, despite being faced with Otherness, do not accept their 'position' but actively subvert it through interventionist retranslation. As von Flotow describes in her notion of interventionist feminist translation: feminist translators will often "correct" texts—intervening and making changes to a source text that departs from a feminist perspective.[36] This is exactly what Christine and Landon accomplish in their genealogical retranslations, regardless of whether or not canonization is achieved. Both Christine and Landon are able to transcend Otherness and, in doing so, attain feminine genius through a unique creation of their own types of language.

Martin Le Franc insists of "…Christine as the single—but glorious and triumphant—*female* member of the new French literary canon that she had herself earlier expanded and regendered by a strategic act of self-inclusion."[37] As Christine uses genealogical retranslation to insert herself into the canon, she is able to step outside of Otherness while remaining a woman. Because of her unique gendered status as the only woman author of a fully male canon, "…she simultaneously continues, corrects, and completes" the canonical texts that she retranslates.[38] Christine, as a translator, continues, corrects, and completes. She brings regendered texts to the present, asserting her femininity, but also her equality. These texts are then kept "alive," to her contemporary standards, as well as infuse a new "Franco-Italian vernacular hybridity" within her target culture.[39] As a foreignizing

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[35] Luise Von Flotow, *Translation and Gender: Translating in the "Era of Feminism"* (Ottowa: University of Ottowa Press, 1997), 14.
[36] Ibid., 24.
[37] Brownlee, "Christine de Pizan: Gender and the New Vernacular Canon," 108.
[38] Ibid., 102.
[39] Ibid., 102.

element in translation brings aspects of the source language into a target text and language, so too does Christine in creating her own kind of 'woman's language' in this hybrid language. Rene d'Anjou also stresses that: "this bilingual aspect of Christine's new vernacular canon is extended and monumentalized."[40] Christine's language is not only unique, it is monumental. As the only woman in an all-male canon who speaks in an invigorating gendered hybrid-bilingual language, Christine is not only able to maintain her femininity but go beyond. Christine most certainly does not become a man but, greater than an Other, becomes a creator—becomes a genius.

Letitia Landon faces the same problem of Otherness but is also able to transcend. Landon, using poetry as her profession, must embrace the dual nature of the poetess. She is 'forced,' as the imitational side of poetess would imply, to 'misread' her predecessors and write about romance and sensuality. A criticism by many of her contemporaries was of her focus on these notions of romance and sensuality. But, Blain writes, "Men as well as women rushed to read her, drawn in by the titillation of the half-veiled subject matter as much as by the mellifluous verbal skills so effortlessly displayed. She was a nineteenth-century 'performance poet'…"[41] Landon indeed performs—putting on a show in her words—but only to sell her work. As a 'poetess,' she would not be able to sell poems on surface subjects tackled by 'true' poets like Keats, Byron, or Shelley. She would not be able to sustain professionalism. Instead, she became "…a true poet whose work subverts her cultures reading of femininity through a technique identified by Irigaray as that of exaggerated mimesis."[42] Instead of becoming man by becoming Byron or Shelley, she uses her femininity as only a woman could: by creating poetry as a kind of "peepshow" for cultural critique.

Underneath her words lies the true language of Letitia Landon. This notion of the dual notion of poetess in Landon—the 'puppet' versus the 'real agent' is exemplified in her poem "Love's Last Lesson." The narrator asks for forgetfulness of a lover who

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[40] Ibid., 109.
[41] Blain, "Letitia Elizabeth Landon, Eliza Mary Hamilton, and the Genealogy of the Victorian Poetess," 46.
[42] Ibid., 43.

has left her tortured. Superficially, the poem relates this heartbreaking. Underneath the words however, lies the meaning that the poem is more about self-expression and language than love. Landon writes, "I loved unconsciously: your name was all/That seem'd in language, and to me the world/Was only made for you;…"[43] The love within her was *placed* through the language of the lover. By articulating her own words, by finally speaking for herself, the narrator is able to begin to forget. This mess inside of her, her 'heartbreak,' is the language of the patriarchy—a false language that has left her bereft. She must learn "love's last lesson": creation of the self in self-expression, in subjectivity. The narrator must write her lover down on paper and, throwing him away, maintain her own identity from words. On the surface, the poem is about a lost love; below, the poem reveals that in the creation of your own language, woman can shed the patriarchy that has forgotten her.

Thus, L.E.L.'s language is one of translation of the self and all women into words. Landon writes as if the Other and gives a superficial perspective of Otherness in order to sell her poetry. But, when 'stripping' away her language, Landon invaginates canonical male poets' texts to allow for genealogically political progress. Her texts give the means for a retranslation of female characters like Byron's Astarte into speaking subjects. Furthermore, her poems extend the notion of a language of 'exaggerated mimesis.' Even Landon's superficial language plays a role in identity as that of a foil. In a time period still greatly influenced by Rousseauian gender practices, woman would not 'be able' to truly read accomplished male poets. In Landon's "exaggerated mimesis" she reveals this notion by often 'mistranslating' her predecessors. "Love's Last Lesson" begins: "Teach it me, if you can –forgetfulness!"[44] compared to Byron's *Manfred*: "'What wouldst thou with us, son of mortals—say?'/Manfred: 'Forgetfulness—'"[45] Landon 'misreads' the

[43] Letitia Elizabeth Landon, "Love's Last Lesson," *British Literature 1780-1830*, ed. A.K. Mellor and R.E. Matlak (Boston, MA: Heinle & Heinle, 1996), 1387.
[44] Ibid., 1386.
[45] Lord Byron, *Manfred, A Dramatic Poem*, *British Literature 1780-1830*, ed. A.K. Mellor and R.E. Matlak (Boston, MA: Heinle & Heinle, 1996), 929.

Byronic need for forgetting a terrible deed and replaces it with forgetting, what would seem, a childishly over-passionate love affair. Landon however, manipulates mistranslation in order to successfully use the poem to create her own language. She 'penetrates' the canonized male texts and 'withdrawals' a language for femininity. She, like Christine, uses genealogy to ascend into a canon of men. Yet, in creating her own language and retranslation of these canonized poets, Landon emphasizes her uniqueness and, in this transcendence, attains feminine genius.

To return to Bloom's essay *Antithetical Criticism: An Introduction*, Christine de Pizan and Letitia Landon successfully use clinamen[46] and tessera[47] to genealogically retranslate canonized authors. "In the movement of *tessera*, the precursor is rescued from his supposed incompleteness. He is regarded as not having gone far enough, rather than having fallen in the wrong direction."[48] The canonized precursors, often forgetting or silencing woman, are incomplete. Instead, Christine and Landon are not only able to transcend this male canon, they are able to create their own woman's language—initiating an original and unprecedented advance in their time. Because of this, they are able to transcend the male canon and, in doing so, attain a notion of feminine genius promulgated by Julia Kristeva. Kristeva writes that feminine genius is: "…the flourishing of the individual in his or her uniqueness, to what makes an individual *who* he or she is and raises him or her above ordinariness—*genius* being the most complex, the most appealing, and the most fruitful form of this uniqueness at a particular moment in history and, given that it is so, the form that is lasting and universal."[49] Landon and Christine creatively challenge the sociohistorical conditions of their identities and, with innovative uniqueness, are able go beyond the patriarchy. They become women no longer Others but something greater—the unique "only female member of a male canon"—who

[46] Clinamen: misreading because of the assumption that the precursor was wrong.
[47] Tessera: completion because the precursor is, logically, incomplete.
[48] Harold Bloom, "Antithetical Criticism: An Introduction," *Diacritics* Vol. 1, No. 2. (Winter, 1971): 44.
[49] Julia Kristeva, "Is There a Feminine Genius?" *Critical Inquiry* 30, No. 3 (2004 Spring): 494.

speak a pure language that does not cling to the past but breaks free from the shackles of the patriarchy and embraces the woman's present.

Do Russians and Americans View Space in the Same Way?

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We live in civilization.
There is no breaking away from it.
Here everything is in language
and through language.
- Alexander Zinoviev *The Yawning Heights*

There is a fundamental truth in this passage; human language is, indeed, a highly complex system which embraces the world in a way nothing else does. No society would be possible without language and any social activity is linguistic in its essence. Thus it is in language that the objective answers to the questions facing the humanities are to be looked for. If everything is in language, success here depends just on how keen we are on finding those answers.

Languages are mediators of ideas. They mediate ideas differently because their categories do not fully coincide. It seems, however, that all languages are equally suitable for

communication, meaning that, if a conceptual category does not have a linguistic correlate, there is a more general linguistic category to cover this function and, if some category does not exist, there is no need for it to exist because its functions are performed by other categories. Thus, Russian, unlike English, has no articles but the functions the article performs in English are performed in Russian by word order or by lexical means.

This paper looks at how the range of conceptual categories of space is reflected in the categories Russian and English operate. It is important to make a distinction between *coordinate* and *categorical spatial relations*. The former include distance, speed of motion and size, and are mostly processed by the right hemisphere. Their representations involve numerical specifications rather than linguistic categorization. The latter, on the contrary, are mostly processed by the left hemisphere, require to be categorized in languages and are the exclusive focus of this paper.

To locate a target object, called the *figure*, reference to another object, called the *ground*, needs to be established. Two basic kinds of relations between the figure and ground are possible: *contiguity* and *displacement*. When the figure and ground are contiguous a *topological* relation is established. Topological relations are most often coded in language by means of spatial prepositions, *at* being the most obvious example, whose meaning is any kind of contiguity. Both Russian and English can specify all the major types of contiguity. Thus, *superadjacency* (on the horizontal plane) and *attachment* (on the vertical plane) are prototypically coded by *на* in Russian and *on* in English; *containment* is coded by *в* and *in*, respectively; *penetration* is coded by *через* and *сквозь* in Russian as opposed to *through* in English; *subadjacency* is coded by *под* and *under*. However, the difference lies in the fact that specification is always required in Russian whereas in English it is often enough to gloss contiguity by *at*.

It is also important to remark on the following: Russian favors prepositions prototypically denoting superadjacency or attachment while English favors containment prepositions. This is a manifestation of the difference in the conceptual coding of space between Russian and English. In an earlier paper we argued that, unlike Russian, English operates the conceptual metaphor

MOVEMENT IN SPACE IS MANIPULATION OF SOLID OBJECTS, where space was for the first time described as a *target* metaphorical domain. Metaphorical objects have metaphorical borders, delimiting a kind of "personal space" which alien objects must not enter. Since borders surround (metaphorically) spaces, the latter are perceived as containers. It is exactly for this reason that English tends to represent contiguous spaces as *closed*, even when they have no physical borders. Hence the English equivalents for the Russian *на улице*, *на дереве*, *на картине* are *in the street*, *in the tree*, *in the picture*. In Russian, a reverse tendency can be observed: contiguous spaces are represented as *open*, even when they do have physical borders. Hence the Russian equivalents for the English *in the post office*, *in the linguistics department*, *in the railway station* are *на почте*, *на кафедре лингвистики*, *на вокзале*.

Since topological relations are very abstract they seem likely to be cross-linguistically universal. However, considerable diversity in the kinds of topological relations has been revealed in recent studies. Thus, it has been pointed out that the Mayan language Tzeltal features a closed class of dispositional adjectives that provide for far more detailed specifications than the prepositions mentioned above; Makah has suffixes encoding locations such as "at the rear of a house," "at the base of an upright object," "at the head of a canoe": Karuk has an unlikely suffix –*vara* meaning "in through a tubular space". As these examples show, attention has generally been turned toward exotic languages and away from similar phenomena observed in languages like English and Russian. For example, in English there are a number of prepositions starting with the once-prefix *a-* denoting extremely specific locations and positions: *aboard* ("at a ship", now extended to "at a public transportation means", such as a plane, bus or train, but not a car), *astride* ("with one's legs on either side of"), *atop* ("at the top of"), to name but a few.

When the figure and ground are displaced or disproportionate it is not enough to establish a topological relation. A *projective* relation is needed, i.e., an indication of the direction from the ground, in which to search for the figure. To specify a direction, we need a coordinate system, or *frame of reference*, and it has been established that languages use just three types of reference frames.

When the figure and ground are disproportionate, the latter has to be partitioned and an axis has to be projected from its center to a designated part, as in *The boy is in the back of the car*. This kind of coordinate system is called the *intrinsic frame of reference* because it relies on reference to the inherent or intrinsic parts of the ground. The intrinsic frame is cross-linguistically by far the most widespread of coordinate systems.

In both English and Russian part assignment within the intrinsic frame uses the canonical orientation of the artifact, determined by *the leading facet in typical motion* (*the front of a truck – передняя часть грузовика*), *the facet with a perceptual apparatus* (*the front of a camera – передняя часть камеры*), *the characteristic orientation of the object to the user* (*the front of a blackboard – передняя часть доски*), or *of the user to the object* (*the front of a desk – передняя часть стола*). If an artifact has no canonical orientation, part assignment occurs within the relative frame of reference.

It is common for both English and Russian to describe locations within the intrinsic frame of reference in terms of human body parts, employing the conceptual metaphor GROUND IS BODY; GROUND PARTS ARE BODY PARTS. This kind of representation is somewhat more common in English, but the main difference between the two languages here is in the *choice* of body parts. Consider, for instance, the following expressions: *the eye of a hurricane (needle, potato), the nose of an airplane*, *the mouth of a cave*, *the head of a nail*, *the neck of a guitar*, *the arms of a river*, *the hands of a clock*, *the foot of a mountain*, as opposed to *шляпка гвоздя*, *рукава реки*, *хвост поезда*, *подножие горы*. As it follows from the analysis of a number of instances, English favors facial or upper parts of the body, which are *inward* and focus on the personality, whereas Russian tends to choose lower parts or elements of apparel, including clothes and accessories, which can be viewed as extensions of the body but are *outward* rather than inward.

When the figure and ground are displaced, the *relative* and *absolute frames of reference* are used. Unlike the binary intrinsic frame, requiring only figure and ground to operate, they are ternary (except when cardinal directions are used): they also require information about the spatial disposition of a third participant

outside the figure/ground dyad, namely the viewpoint. The relative frame of reference projects the bodily axes of the viewer, front and back, left and right, onto the ground to specify the figure's location, as in *The boy is to the left of the house* (i.e., on the speaker's left). The absolute frame of reference, unlike the two other frames, uses abstract, antecedently fixed bearings such as the *cardinal directions* (north – south/east – west) (the only possibility for Indo-European languages), *fall of land* (uphill – downhill/across) (Tzeltal), *coastline* (landward – seaward/parallel to the coast), *river flow* (upriver – downriver/away from – towards the river). Absolute systems of reference are the only type to sustain full logical inferences under different viewpoints but the costs of absolute computation are higher because it requires a significant cognitive overhead.

Like most other Indo-European languages, English and Russian use all three mentioned frames and seem to have a preference for the relative frame unless there are specific conditions provoking the use of either the intrinsic or absolute frame. However, the question would remain if their frequencies of occurrence are the same in English and Russian until we carried out a series of experiments to answer it. It has emerged that English (at least, its American variety) relies on the absolute frame far more heavily than Russian by often preferring the cardinal directions. Here is a sample of how a spatial scene is coded in American English in absolute terms:

I leave the house and walk *north* about one block to Speedway Boulevard. Then I cross Speedway and walk about 100 feet to the bus stop. I take the bus *west* about 6 miles which takes about 25 minutes. I get off the bus at Speedway Boulevard and Cherry Avenue by the university. Then I walk *west* one block and then cross Speedway once again. Then I walk two blocks *south* and turn on 1st. I walk *west* again one block and then go my building.

Our Russian respondents described similar scenes by using the relative terms *справа* and *слева* to explain position and *направо* and *налево* to explain direction. Both Russian and American descriptions gave distances and times, but Russian descriptions also referred to additional grounds. One gets the impression that Russian speakers do not merely pursue the aim of stating directions, but also describe the *environment*, providing

details that would seem irrelevant to an American speaker. Here is an example:

Я обхожу свой дом, при этом он остается *слева*; выхожу из метро *по ходу поезда*; после выхода из метро иду по направлению к пешеходному переходу; сначала по *левой* стороне будет невысокое здание белого цвета, потом маленькие магазинчики; *слева* будет небольшой ресторан на первом этаже старого жилого дома; здание *справа* от меня, в глубине.

This linguistic difference cannot but have strong cognitive consequences. English speakers create a fairly accurate mental map based on cardinal directions. This requires them to calculate such directions whenever they go to an unknown area. For Russian speakers, objects of the environment and their mutual dispositions are more important because memorizing them allows imbedding themselves into that environment and describing it in relative terms.

A question arises: what caused American, but not Russian, speakers to use cardinal directions so extensively? Although we do not have a ready answer, we can assume that cardinal directions became important in English when England became *a maritime nation*. A marine environment gives one nothing to rely upon but the compass and environmental clues such as the sun.

The ability for absolute orientation was inherited by the USA. A possible explanation of the tenacity of cardinal point orientation in the USA may lie in its history of westward expansion, which required Americans to constantly monitor and register directions. The rectangular state division in the USA may be a variety of a mnemonic technique that facilitated orientation in the open, unbounded space that surrounded American colonists. Extra evidence of this comes from the fact that cardinal point orientation has been shown to be more common in the West and Midwest than in the thirteen original states.

The rectangular or square structure is no less common for American towns and villages, i.e., for rural America, where vast territories had to be clearly and definitely demarcated. It is not to be wondered at, then, that the compass directions of the main streets of cities and towns are known to virtually all Americans from the map. Other directions can be calculated from a primary

direction, the task made easier by the right angles at the intersections. Many names of American streets and highways also contain cardinal direction specifications, so that the average U.S. citizen has a striking command of the 'practical' geography of their immediate and outer surroundings, but the same average American will be noted for an astonishing inability to learn foreign geography, where names rather than directions have to be memorized.

A final point to be made here is that we have concentrated on the frames of reference on the horizontal plane for the simple reason that they usually coincide along the vertical dimension. If a flag waves above a building, it does so within all three frames: it is located within the region that radiates from the top of the building (intrinsic frame); it is higher than the building from the observer's point of view (relative frame); and it is higher than the building along the vertical axis defined by gravity (absolute frame).

Apart from topological and projective relations, there is a special kind of spatial reference called *spatial deixis*. Deixis is generally understood in linguistics and pragmatics as reference by means of an expression whose interpretation is relative to the extralinguistic context of the utterance (in the case of spatial deixis, the location of a participant in the speech event, typically the speaker). Spatial deictic expressions in English and Russian include *demonstrative pronouns* (this – that, these – those; этот – тот, эти – те), *deictic adverbs* (here – there; здесь/тут – там), and *deictic verbs of motion or transfer* (come – go, bring – take – fetch, прийти – уйти, принести – унести). These are binary divisions based on whether motion or transfer proceeds in the direction toward the speaker (*hither*) or away from the speaker (*thither*). In English, there exist two corresponding sets of verbs; in Russian, the distinction is coded by deictic prefixes при-, под(о)-, у-, от(о)- and some others added to deixis-neutral verb roots. Derivational prefixes of the kind can be added to virtually any verb root that can be interpreted as involving either a physical or metaphorical movement vis-à-vis the speaker in much the same way as prepositions or prepositional adverbs can be added to most English verbs to form phrasal verbs (cf. Он подошел поближе – He came up closer, Пришла зима – Winter has set in, Он ушел от нас/из жизни – He has passed away).

It is important to note that deictic references in English are far more rigidly defined by the speaker's position than in Russian. Consider the following example: two Americans are talking and, when they are about to say goodbye to each other one of them says, 'When you go home, please send me an email', meaning 'once you are back home'. If we tried to render this perfectly simple sentence into Russian we would get «Когда ты придешь/приедешь/вернешься домой, отправь мне email». English, therefore, does not allow the speaker to shift the deictic center to any point other than where they are physically located, whereas the Russian tendency to portray spatial scenes in fine detail we have mentioned earlier clearly prevails here as well. Here is another example to demonstrate this difference: a football commentator is giving a running commentary on a fast-moving game which is shown by a different camera every few seconds, and is referring to one of the players as 'this, no that, player', correcting himself once the view and the player's position on the screen in relation to the viewer change. This change would not find a manifestation in the speech of a Russian commentator and a correction of the kind would instead lead to ambiguity in interpretation (a plausible reading is that he now means a different player).

A final point we would like to make in regard to spatial representation in English and Russian concerns the way *motion proper* is described, a point almost entirely neglected in the existing literature. It stands to reason that both languages possess a few modal categories to specify the *manner of motion*, but they do it differently. It may be necessary, for example, to specify the *transportation means*, for which Russian has a whole set of specific verbs: *идти (пешком) – ехать – лететь – плыть*, etc., whereas English mostly uses just two verbs, *to go* and, interestingly, *to travel*, unless further specification is pragmatically relevant.

It may also be necessary to specify whether motion is unidirectional or omnidirectional and this distinction is manifested in most Russian verbs of motion through the category of the number of directions, as in *идти – ходить*, *ехать – ездить*, *плыть – плавать*, etc. These verbs have two fully independent conjugational paradigms. The verbs *идти*, *ехать*, *плыть*, etc.

denote unidirectional, purposeful motion, while the verbs *ходить*, *ездить*, *плавать*, etc. denote recurrent or habitual actions involving motion. Compare the following: Я иду в театр (сейчас, вечером, завтра). / I am going to the theater (now, tonight, tomorrow) (an action proceeding at the moment of speaking). Я (обычно, часто, иногда) хожу в театр. / I (usually, often, sometimes) go to the theater (a repeated action in the present). Now let us look at how these verbs are used with reference to past actions. Я шел в театр. / I was going to the theater (a background action in a narrative). Я ходил в театр (вчера, раньше). / I went/used to go to the theater (yesterday, before) (either an accomplished action in the past involving going to the theater and back, or an action repeated in the past but probably not any more). It follows from these examples that English does not feature the number of directions category but provides for this distinction by means of the more generally applied aspectual paradigms as well as lexically.

We have thus summed up some of our findings about how Russian and English represent space. We hope to have shown that they do not always do it in the same way and that the unearthed differences should have an impact on further linguistic and epistemological research, on teaching Russian or English as a second language, translation, interpreting, discourse analysis and many other applications.

“May the Force Be with You:” The “Animatistic Minimum” in the Mythological and Religious Consciousness

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When Christian missionaries came to North America during the epoch of great geographical discoveries, they were surprised to find out that the native peoples had no concept of the Western notion of God; the idea of a Supreme Being was altogether foreign to them and was replaced by the belief in an invisible, mysterious, and impersonal force inherent in people, animals, lifeless subjects, filling with itself the world surrounding the person and causing all his life. The Eskimos name this force *sila* (or *khila*) using a word similar to the Russian word *sila*, that is “a force.” The Iroquois call it *orenda*, among the Algonquin a different word is used for this force, *manitou*, which bears the same meaning. The same force is also known under the name of *wakan* or *wakanda* among the Sioux, *poknut* among the Shoshone, *yek* among the Tlinkit, *sgâna* among the Haida, and *nauala* among the Kwakiutl. But such a belief is not peculiar to the indigenous peoples of North America, and it may be observed in the internal areas of Africa, Southeast Asia, and Oceania.

The same concept is found among the Malayans as *kramat*, among the Indo-Chinese tribes as *deng*, as *megbe* among the African Pygmies, as *njama* among the tribes of Western Sudan, and as *umoja* among the Zulu. In Santa Cruz the word *malete* is used; at Saa in Malante all persons and things in which this supernatural force resides are said to be *saka*, that is "hot." Additionally, among the peoples of Oceania—the Melanesians and Polynesians—the impersonal force is known as *mana*. As the American scholars Robert H. Lowie and Robert. R. Marett both cogently argued, somewhat similar concepts exist in religious systems as far apart as the Crow and Iroquois of America and the Ekoi of Africa.

It is in Melanesia that the belief in an impersonal force was studied for the first time. The English ethnographer and missionary Robert Codrington was the first to describe in detail the belief in *mana*. His book *The Melanesians* appeared in 1891 and, after it had been recognized that all of the above mentioned terms are the exact equivalent of the Melanesians' *mana*, this name was introduced by Robert Marett in 1915 as a common term to denote all the variations of an impersonal force represented in different non-Western religions.

According to Codrington *mana* is a supernatural power of influence belonging to the region of the unseen. He writes: "This is what works to effect everything which is beyond the ordinary power of men, outside the common processes of nature, it is present in the atmosphere of life, attaches itself to persons and to things, and is manifested by results which can only be ascribed to its operation. When one has got it he can use it and direct it, but its force may break forth at some new point."[1] The life and social position of every person are supposed to depend on *mana*. He becomes a chief by the virtue of *mana*. If a man is successful in fighting it means that he has got *mana*. If his pigs multiply and gardens are productive, it is not because he is industrious but because the stones in his garden are full of *mana*.

The French sociologist Emile Durkheim, describing the beliefs of the Native American tribes and especially the Sioux, writes that the force *wakan* "is not a definite and definable power,

[1] Robert Codrington, *The Melanesians: Studies in Their Anthropology and Folk-lore* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1891), 119-120.

the power of doing this or that; it is a power in absolute sense, with no epithet of determination of any sort. The various divine powers are only particular manifestations and personifications of it; each of them is this power seen under one of its numerous aspects."[2] Taking the words in a larger sense, one may say that it is the god adored by each totemic cult, however, it is a god in a specific sense. "Yet," Durkheim writes, "it is an impersonal god, without name or history, immanent in the world and diffused in an innumerable multitude of things."[3]

As a rule, *mana* is perceived as something ambiguous, ambivalent; it cannot be considered only useful or only harmful to the person. However, sometimes it is supposed to be only nocuous, as, for example, *arunkult* among the Australian tribe aranda or *onim* among the Papuans of New Guinea.

Robert Marett and Bronislav Malinovsky consider the belief in an impersonal force, or, animatism, as historically the first form of religious consciousness and, moreover, as "a minimum of religion" in general, which is kept by all later religions. To delineate a belief in impersonal forces Marett suggested the taboo-*mana* formula which was also adopted by him for his own minimum definition of religion. He defined this kind of belief by the term "animatism" to distinguish it from what Edward B. Taylor called "animism," that is a belief in supernatural beings.

As to the objections pointing out that people of primitive societies are unable to suggest any abstract concept of the impersonal force Durkheim writes that they do not represent this force in an abstract form, on the contrary, under the influence of some causes they have been led to conceive it under the form of an animal, or of vegetable species, or, in a word, of a visible object.

The fact that *mana* can be embodied in different objects and can be conveyed from one possessor to another, flowing through every living and nonliving thing keeping its magic properties, has led the German scholar K. Oberhuber to conclude that it has a totemic origin, and, in Durkheim's opinion, "totemism is the religion, not of such and such animals or men or images, but of an anonymous and impersonal force found in each of these

[2] Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* (London: Allen and Unwin), 193.
[3] Ibid., 189.

beings but not to be confounded with one of them. No one possesses it entirely, and all participate in it. It is so completely independent of the particular subjects in whom it incarnates itself, that it precedes them and survives them."[4]

In this connection it seems to me, that the idea of impersonal force has become one of the major archetypes of mythological and religious consciousness, or, so to speak, "an animatistic minimum," whose presence in culture and spirituality of the subsequent millennia has manifested itself in a wide range—from a level of household and ceremonial magic up to a level of deep philosophical thoughts and concepts.

The presence of this archetype in polytheism is proven by the Sumerian concept of *me*, a powerful mysterious force operating the world of gods and people and, like *mana*, capable of incarnating itself in different objects. The meaning of the word *me* is similar to that of the Sumerian verb of existence *me* ("to be"); actually, it is the same word. It is remarkable, that the Indo-Iranian name of the magic force *maya* has taken its origin in the verb *man* ("to think"), and the second part of the word, *-ya*, whatever etymology it has, is associated with the old Indian verb *ya* ("to go"). The German linguist Wilhelm Humboldt writes that the radical *ya-* is actively used in word-formation. In this case, *maya* may be understood as a movement of the thought.

It is curious that a lot of terms used by different cultures to denote an impersonal force has the phoneme *m* either at the beginning of the word (*malete. mana, manitou, maya, me, megbe*) or in the middle of it (*kramat, njama, umoja*). The Algonquin's *manitou* is consonant with the Melanesians' *mana*, which in turn completely coincides with a word from one of the Near-Eastern texts written in the Mandean language in 400 A.D. and containing the following phrase: "I swear by the great Mana." In this context, the term *Mana* is supposed to have originated in the above-mentioned verb *man* ("to think"). Of course, these facts are no more than mere coincidences, but they deserve to be mentioned here.

Just like the Sumerian term *me* combining the meanings of a noun and a verb, the word *mana* is both a noun substantive and a

[4] Ibid., 188.

verb; a transitive form of the verb, *manag, manahi, managi*, means to impart *mana*, or to influence with it. Codrington writes: "An object in which *mana* resides, and a spirit which naturally has *mana*, is said to be *mana*, with the use of the verb; a man has *mana*, but cannot properly be said to be *mana*."[5]

In my opinion, similar word usage can be found among the Algonquin. According to the Christian priest father Alluets, in 1670 he was allowed into a remote Algonquin village in which white men had never been seen before. The Algonquin were amazed to see his white skin and black attire and took him neither for a human being, nor for a deity, but for an embodiment of the divine force *manitou*. He was invited to come into a wigwam where he was surrounded by several old Indians. One of them came nearer to the priest with two handfuls of tobacco, which many Native American tribes used for sacrifice, and addressed him with the following words: "It is very good, Black Dress, that you have visited us. Manifest your favour to us. You are Manitou. We shall give you some tobacco."

The archetypal significance of the belief in an impersonal force may be proven by the factor of historical succession. Under the influence of Sumerian beliefs, the Elamic concept of the magic force *kiten* inherent in deities has arisen. The Akkadian concept of the tables of destiny has also originated in *me*.

Similar views and their similar evolution may also be found among the Indo-Iranian tribes. Like *mana* which is an ambiguous force, *maya*, as has been shown by the French scholar L. Renou, is also ambivalent. In the Rig-Veda it is said to be, on the one hand, "supernatural wisdom" or "a magic force of transformations" when it concerns gods and, on the other hand, "magical charms," "deceit" when it concerns demons and enemies. In the Iranian mythological and poetical tradition the divine entity *khvarno*, or *pharn*, is also ambivalent. As a rule it is supposed to bring riches and authority to people, however, the notion of "bad *pharn*" is not foreign to the Iranians. While possessing *mana* makes one a chief, having *pharn* makes one a king, gives him supreme, imperial authority. *Khavrno* is considered both as an impersonal sacral entity—a sort of impersonal anonymous force—and as a

[5] Codrington, *The Melanesians*, 119.

personified divine character, which also resonates with the belief in an impersonal force capable of filling with itself different subjects and objects. It can be possessed by deities and people for whom it, as well as *mana*, is embodied in the house, family, health, cattle. Just like *me* which can be owned by cities and temples, *khvarno* can be incarnated in the settlement, area, and country. The term *pharn* shows the same way of the semantic development that the term *me*. If the notion of *me* has produced the tables of destiny, *pharn* is perceived as happiness, fate or destiny. As the English specialist in Zoroastrianism, Mary Boyes points out that *khvarena* (one of the forms of the word *pharn*) is often associated with the goddess of destiny Ashi. This name in the Zend language corresponds with the word *asha* or *rta* (*arta*), the latter being characteristic of Indo-Aryan tribes, meaning the general law, the natural order of things, which resembles, in essence and phonetically, the Chinese notion of *Tao* ("Way"). It seems to me that *asha* is to *khvarno* what *Tao* is to *te*: *Tao* gives rise to things, and *te* rears, cultivates, improves them—that is, operates like an impersonal vital force. Generally speaking, the English equivalent for *te* is the word *power* and the title of the Chinese treatise *Tao-te ching* reads in English as *The Book of the Way and Its Power*.

Pharn taken in the sense of destiny is often compared to the Greek goddess Tikhe and to the Roman goddess Fortuna. Therefore, the concept of an impersonal force, when incorporated into more "developed" religions, is exposed to some transformations: first this force begins to be perceived as destiny, and then it is personified in a female image. *Maya* in the Post-Vedaic period is not only considered as the illusiveness of life (as in Vishnuism) which is connected with one of its meanings displayed in the Rig-Veda (that is, deceit, charms, illusion), but *maya* is also identified with a divine woman, sometimes with the goddess Durga.

I think that the gradual personification of an impersonal force in a female image may be observed and proven with the use of linguistic data. The Latin words *Fortuna* and *fors* ("a case"), on the one hand, and the words *fortitudo* ("force") and *fortis* ("strong") have originated in the same radical. The name *Eva* meaning, in the Semitic languages, "life," goes back to the Nostratic radical *haju* ("a vital force"); it should be added that the

Nostratic language is the oldest language of the Eurasian continent which existed before its division into the Indo-European, Semitic, Altai, and other languages. арии

The Iranian entity *khvarno* has some features in common with the force *manitou* of the Algonquin of North America. One of the meanings of the term *khvarno*, "light," "shine," correlates it to sunlight (the Vedaic word *svar* which is related to the word *khvarno* also means "light," "shine," "sun"; of the same radical are the name of the Slavic god of fire *Svarog* and the Greek word *charisma* meaning, first, a special personal quality or power of an individual making him capable of influencing or inspiring large numbers of people, and, secondly, a quality inherent in a thing which inspires great enthusiasm and devotion). In general fire was one of the major objects of worship among the Indo-Aryan tribes. It is from fire that *khvarno* has come into Zarathustra's mother. The American ethnographer Lewis Spence, in his book *The Myths of the North American Indians*,[6] points out that the Native American's "theology" originated in their views of sunlight. Their initial notions of a divine force were the same that those characteristic of the primitive peoples of Europe and Asia. The Native American's concept of a god was the idea of a great powerful force residing in the sky and manifesting itself in sunshine. A connection between the idea of an impersonal force and the cult of fire can be shown with the above mentioned term *saka* ("hot"), meaning a person or thing in which the impersonal force resides. The Tokhar word *muk*, meaning "a magic force," is paronymous with the Indo-European words meaning "fire," for example, with the Latin word *ignis*.

The archetype of an impersonal force is also present in the philosophical concepts in which not a personified deity, but an abstraction, general idea, or impersonal immanent divinity diffused in the phenomena of the world is declared to be a subject of cult. Such a theory was developed by the American thinker Ralph Waldo Emerson. Emphasizing this feature of Emerson's transcendental idealism, William James writes, in his work *The*

[6] Lewis Spence, *The Myths of the North American Indians* (London: George G. Harrap & Co, 1914).

Varieties of Religious Experience,[7] that in America there are many churches without God that are called ethical societies or moral unions and in which people worship abstract concepts and general ideas. This fact, which has become an important feature characteristic of the American mentality, makes James suggest a broad interpretation of the term *divinity*, understanding it as a sort of general quality. That Americans are inclined to operating general ideas to a larger extent than their English ancestors is pointed out by the French thinker Alexis de Tocqueville, in his work *Democracy in America.*[8] He specifies that this inclination has been expressed, first of all, in pantheism.

In my opinion, pantheism undoubtedly contains, in a rudimentary form, the above mentioned "animatistic minimum." The dissolution of God in the world bears a close similarity to the dissolution of an impersonal force in it. According to de Tocqueville, the spreading of pantheism is accounted for by the equalizing of conditions under which people live in a democratic society, which induces them to speculate not of separate facts, but of all their multitude as a whole and to reduce different consequences to one reason. People of a democratic epoch continuously invent abstract words and personify their meanings, forcing them to act like real persons. Such phrase as, for example, "the natural course of things demands that the world be governed by endowments" would be, in de Tocqueville's opinion, quite natural for them.

Of course, this enthusiasm for general ideas may partially be accounted for by contacts of the new and Native Americans. On the one hand, Christian preachers, trying to adapt local beliefs for their own concepts of God, have transformed the impersonal force *orenda* or *wakanda* into a personified image of Great Spirit; on the other hand, American colonists adjoining to the Native American culture, have apprehended to some extent the beliefs particular to the Native Americans.

However, a more significant role in forming this inclination to abstract ideas belongs to the archetype of an impersonal force as

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[7] William James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience* (New York: Penguin Books, 1982).

[8] Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (New York: Harper and Row, 1966).

a "minimum of religion" in general. The French sociologist Raimon Aron sees the cause that has originated clan totemism based on the belief in an impersonal force in the recognition of the sacral which appears to be a force borrowed from the collectivity and surpassing all the individuals. We can draw, thus, a conclusion that, having turned into an archetype, the idea of impersonal force starts to cause an effect. It is society that becomes a true object of worship, it is sociality that embodies in itself an impersonal and anonymous force identified with divinity.

Perhaps it is this inclination toward general ideas and abstract concepts that has led George Lucas to the idea of the Force developed in his *Star Wars* series. The Force is viewed as a metaphysical, binding, and ubiquitous power that is behind the Jedi and Sith monastic orders. Both the Jedi and the Sith use the Force to gain their power. Jedi Master Obi-Wan Kenobi describes it as follows: "The Force is what gives a Jedi his power. It's an energy field created by all living things. It surrounds us, penetrates us, and binds the galaxy together."[9] There are two different views of the Force among the characters of the *Star Wars* series and among admirers of the movie. Some of them think of the Force as a non-corporeal sentient entity that may be capable of intelligent thought—almost as if it were a sort of Chinese *chi*—while others simply consider it something that can be manipulated and used as though it were a tool.

It is widely recognized that:

> The principles of the Force resonate with those of some real world religions, including the Shinto religion of Japan, Buddhism, and certain Celtic druidic concepts. The Force is also supposed to bear a close similarity to the Chinese notion of *qigong*, or *chi*, and the splitting of the Force into light side and dark sides echoes the concept of *Yin* and *Yang* in Eastern philosophy (though this is not a perfect translation, as the dark side is considered a force of evil by the Jedi and this moral duality is not the same as the Eastern concept). Along with the concepts of *Yin* and *Yang*, the concept of a ubiquitous Force is concurrent to the real

[9] *Star Wars Episode IV – A New Hope.* DVD, directed by George Lucas, 1977, Twentieth Century Fox Home Entertainment, 2006.

> world concept of a *Tao* or *Way*, which is said to flow everywhere in the universe. The concept of the Force also borrows heavily from Hindu theology, which also expresses a belief in a unifying Brahman energy that composes and is a composite of the Universe (and by extension, God), and can be used for either good or bad. In fact, this is particularly similar to the concept of the Potentium and the Unifying Force in that while the power can be perverted for evil, it ultimately leads only to a conclusion that is good. A connection is drawn to Zoroastrianism with the duality of the Force. The dichotomy between Ahura Mazda (the One God) and Angra Mainyu/Ahrima (the evil spirit) is nearly identical to the concept of the light and dark sides of the Force. . . . Generally speaking, the Force is considered as an amalgamation of many religions and philosophies, and is intended as a metaphor for spirituality itself.[10]

It is strange, however, that the concept of an impersonal force, *mana*, is not mentioned in the numerous lists of beliefs which this idea is supposed to resonate with.

In my opinion, it is not with *chi* or any other above-mentioned phenomenon but with *mana* that the Force has many traits in common. Let us compare what has already been said of *mana* to what is known about the Force. Obi-Wan Kenobi's definition of the Force is somewhat similar to the above quoted definition of *mana* suggested by Robert Codrington. Like *mana* the Force works to affect everything which is beyond the ordinary power of men: it is present in the atmosphere of life, and attaches itself to persons and to things, flowing through every living thing. It partially exists inside the life forms that use it, and draws energy from their emotions.

The Force is ambivalent, it is divided into two aspects: the light side and the dark side. These aspects are concerned with the moral compass of the Force in its various manifestations. The light side of the Force is the facet aligned with good, benevolence, and healing, while the dark side of the Force was the element aligned

[10] <http://starwars.wikia.com>

with fear, hatred, aggression, and malevolence.

The Force is also divided into two more aspects: the Unifying Force, which essentially embraces space and time in its entirety, and the Living Force, which deals with the energy of living things. This refers us to the combination of a natural order and impersonal force which is characteristic of many religions and is represented as has already been shown in the notion of *asha* and *khvarno* or *Tao* and *te*.

It is important to note that a major property of the impersonal force with an important archetypal significance is its fluidity, liquidity which enables it to be poured in the world and allows one to associate it with water. Additionally, the English word *force* means both "power" and "a waterfall" or "a cascade." The concept of *mana* has been developed by the islanders living among oceanic waters. The Sumerian force *me* resides at the depths of the underground ocean of fresh waters Absu, a secret place which is inaccessible even for gods. Only goddess Inanna has managed to steal *me* from the owner of Abzu, god of wisdom Enki. One of main objects of worship among the Indo-Iranians, alongside with fire, was water. In Zend it is spoken of *khvarno* hidden at the depths of waters. To the Ocean which has a lot of names depending on what coast it washes, Emerson compares the Spirit generating everything in the world and getting in its different manifestations the names of Love, Truth, or Good. If the person departs from these coasts, he will be deprived of power and support and his being will get narrower and narrower. Here, we can draw one more parallel with the religion of Zend. The concept of *asha* or *rta* is multiple-valued: with respect to the world of things it is a sort of natural order, and in an ethical sense it means in principle what Emerson speaks of. And at last as Luke Skywalker says in the *Star Wars*, "The Force is a river from which many can drink, and the training of the Jedi is not the only cup which can catch it."

So, the basic properties of an impersonal force are its sacral character, impersonality, liquidity, and ambivalence. It is curious, that if combining the initial letters of these words, we will get the Russian word *sila*, that is "a force."

The above mentioned facts show that the old beliefs in an impersonal force are present in later religions as an archetype

defining many important components of mythological and religious consciousness and even of social consciousness as a whole.

The well-known phrase from the *Star Wars* series “May the Force be with you” is not only the quintessence of the Jedi’s religion, but also the apotheosis of the archetypal being of the idea of an impersonal force in the modern world.

Radio as a Tool of the State: Radio Moscow and the Early Cold War

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Scanning the airwaves, all that could be found was static. And then, one minute before the hour, through the disturbance came the notes of "Moscow Nights". Perhaps elsewhere the Cold War was frigid and stale, but here, over high frequency radio, the Cold War was hot. Radio Moscow played a leading role in that hot war over the airwaves – just as much as the Voice of America, Radio Free Europe, and Radio Liberty. Yet, very little has surfaced in the West regarding the role of Radio Moscow in the Cold War. My paper works to analyze this significant player in the battle between the United States and the Soviet Union. I explore the organization and programming of Radio Moscow and its connection to the Soviet Government. In addition, I seek to analyze its reception in the United States and, most importantly, how it was used as a vehicle of Soviet foreign policy around the world.

Early Broadcasting in Russia (to 1941)

From a very early time, the leadership of the revolutionary Bolshevik party in Russia recognized the importance of mass

communication, a point only strengthened after the October Revolution of 1917. Soon after the creation of the Soviet Government in Moscow, the Department of Agitation and Propaganda was set up to coordinate and control all the media outlets in the nation. [1] While the new government recognized the importance of newspapers and magazines, they jumped on the new technology that could spread their word most effectively to a population spread out over 6.6 million square miles.

Radio would soon have the capacity to spread information about health, sanitation, and agriculture, as well as the message of the central government across the vastness of Soviet territory.[2] With Lenin's message of world revolution, radio could spread the movement into Europe and Africa. Within two years of the establishment of a Moscow radio laboratory in 1922, ten stations were in operation in the Soviet Union. While stations were allowed to be established by organizations and collectives, radio broadcasting effectively remained in the hands of the Soviet government.[3] As the new state evolved, the Soviet leadership recognized the need for international broadcasting. The creation of Radio Moscow filled this need. Established in 1929 with French, English, and German language services, programming expanded with Swedish, Turkish, Portuguese, Spanish, Italian, Hungarian, Czech, and Russian services by 1932.[4] Like domestic programming, Radio Moscow expounded the successes of the 1917 Revolution and the recent accomplishments of the Soviet Government.

Great Patriotic War (1941-1945)

By the end of the 1930s, the Soviet Union faced new challenges on its borders, particularly to the west. Adolf Hitler's territorial expansion into Austria, Czechoslovakia and even farther east was making the Soviet leadership nervous. The Molotov-

[1] Philo C. Wasburn, *Broadcasting Propaganda: International Radio Broadcasting and the Construction of Political Reality* (Westport: Praeger, 1992), 1.
[2] Ibid., 2.
[3] Ibid., 4.
[4] Ibid., 5.

Ribbentrop Pact kept the Germans at bay until the Nazi invasion of June 22, 1941.

As German forces invaded Soviet territory as a part of Operation Barbarossa, they entered a country that had experienced great gains in the radio field. Over 100 broadcast stations were found across the country.[5] However, the June invasion caught the Soviet government by surprise, giving the state's broadcast apparatus little time to join the war footing. Still, Radio Moscow managed to establish broadcasting to German-occupied territories in their own languages early in the war.[6] The increased broadcasting over distances and construction of new, powerful stations would serve Radio Moscow well over the war and post-war years.

Though reaching occupied territories as well as the expanses of Soviet territory with the government's message was important, the Soviet leadership recognized the importance of counteracting German radio. The war of the airwaves was characterized by premature declarations of victory, reports of atrocities on the opposing side, and accounts of conditions on the enemy's home front. Early in the war, the Germans took the upper hand over the feeble attempts by Radio Moscow to counteract their claims. However, by 1942, Moscow had managed to gain listener trust. As James von Geldern notes, the factors included, "relative reliability, the willingness to trust listeners to reach their own conclusions, and improved fortunes of war".[7]

Indeed, the Soviets had gained the upper hand. Though the Great Patriotic War left nearly 14% of the Soviet population as casualties, it also left the propaganda apparatus of the Soviet state in a revitalized condition. Wartime broadcasting boosted Radio Moscow's staff to thirteen native broadcasters capable of producing programming in most European languages.[8] The station included a strong German language department, particularly useful in the coming decades of post-war occupation of Germany.

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[5] James Von Geldern, "Radio Moscow: the Voice From the Center," *Culture and Entertainment in Wartime Russia*, ed. Richard Stites (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1995), 45.
[6] Ibid., 47.
[7] Ibid., 57.
[8] Ibid., 58.

Finally, technology had been upgraded, providing Radio Moscow with facilities to reach most of the Eurasian continent. By 1945, Radio Moscow was broadcasting in 29 different languages.[9]

Expansion of International Broadcasting during the Early Cold War (1945-1965)

While Victory in Europe and later Victory in Japan ended the shooting war in 1945, another battle was just beginning. The wartime relationship between the Soviet Union and the western allies had always been plagued by some mutual mistrust. This mistrust soon escalated as the occupation of conquered territories progressed.

To meet the escalation of tensions between the Soviet Union and the west, Radio Moscow continued to increase its broadcast capabilities and target populations. The first addition to Radio Moscow's language services was Korean in 1946, followed closely by Uighur and Mongolian. The Korean service became particularly important with the occupation of the northern half of the Korean Peninsula by the Red Army and the beginning of the Korean Conflict in 1951. Language services to the Indian Subcontinent and South Asia were also added in the late 1940s and early 1950s.[10]

Radio Moscow also expanded many of its preexisting language services to serve new requirements. At the end of the 1940s, the Arabic service moved from broadcasting 7.5 hours per week to 42 hours per week, one of Radio Moscow's largest. Persian language broadcasting increased to 31.5 hours per week in 1950, and Turkish to 31¼ per week. European language broadcasts also expanded, however, they tended to favor Western Europe. Weekly broadcasts in English expanded to 38 hours, French to 28 hours, and German to 55 hours per week. Italian and Finnish language services also experienced modest increases. Surprisingly, weekly broadcasts to Yugoslavia were cut nearly by half, while broadcasts to Czechoslovakia were completely cut.

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[9] "Radio Moscow in the War Years," *Voice of Russia*, 2004. 16 Nov. 2006 <http://www.vor.ru/English/75/program_5.html>.

[10] Bernard Bumpus and Barbara Skelt, "Seventy Years of International Broadcasting," *Communication and Society* 14 (Paris: UNESCO, 1983): 49.

Similarly, the end of the 1940s brought a cut of 10 hours from the Mandarin Chinese service to 14 hours per week.[11]

In response to Radio Moscow and other Soviet broadcasters, the United States also stepped up broadcasting to Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. By 1956, the Voice of America was broadcasting more than 300 hours per week to the Soviet Union. Radio Liberation (changed in 1963 to Radio Liberty) was established in 1951 by the United States to broadcast to the Soviet Union in Russian and other Soviet languages. It began with a 20-minute Russian program repeated for 12 hours a day. By 1957, it had increased to speaking 17 Soviet languages from 11 transmitters. At the same time, Radio Free Europe began speaking to Eastern Europe. By 1954, it was broadcasting 124¾ hours a week to Poland alone.[12]

These increases in broadcasting hours by both sides began the Cold War radio battles. As global crises evolved and other nations joined or left spheres of influence, language services and their weekly outputs changed to reflect the situation. The developing African independence movements in the late 1950s and 1960s changed Radio Moscow's meager African services, adding Portuguese and 11 African languages, including Somali, Zulu, and Malagasy. English and French language output for the African continent was also increased by the end of the decade.[13]

Purpose of International Political Broadcasting and Radio Moscow

In today's capitalist market, large and small businesses recognize the need for a public image and dissemination of information about their services. Many use word of mouth, billboards, and radio and television spots to inform potential customers. Likewise, since the beginning of the modern system of international politics, nation-states have recognized a similar need to create a good public image around the world. The United Kingdom uses the British Broadcasting Company (BBC), not only to serve the needs of the domestic population, but also to disseminate a British viewpoint over radio, television, and the

[11] Ibid., 48.
[12] Ibid., 48.
[13] Ibid., 58.

Internet to non-British nationals. Newscasts may cover a story in China, unrelated to the British Isles. However, commentary and analysis can come from a British perspective, subtly bringing the audience into the British approach.

Though highly-skewed to the Western ear, Radio Moscow sought to establish the same relationship with the listener during the Cold War. By explaining the Soviet perspective of an issue, the audience could be drawn into Moscow's outlook. While they might not have agreed with the opinion, they would now at least understand Moscow's position as it related to their own. Thus, the Soviet system became less intangible and ever so much more rational.

The creation of borders and barriers to trade among nations prohibits the flow of personal contact and information. A traveler or good must be approved to exit and enter a country through a visa or trade regime. However, radio waves, with the exception of jamming and atmospheric phenomena, cannot be stopped at the border. Thus, the medium of radio provides nations with the ability to speak to peoples of another state without interaction with the second government. While a government may not be able to publish an inflammatory document in another country without diplomatic problems, it may be able to broadcast the information to the other country without reservation. Radio can bring international relations from the international summit to the level of the individual citizen.

Organization and Control of Radio Moscow

Radio broadcasting originating from the Soviet Union operated on a multilevel system. At the bottom stood local broadcasters, followed by stations in the various oblasts and krays. At the top stood the central broadcasting system, under which Radio Moscow fell.

In 1961, control over of broadcasting in the Soviet Union was held by the State Committee of Radio and Television Broadcasting.[14] The Committee itself was a direct part of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, which became Sovmin after 1946. According to S.V. Kaftanov, Chairman of the State

[14] S.V. Kaftanov, *Radio and Television in the USSR* (Washington: U.S. Joint Publications Research Service, 1961), 31.

Committee for Radio and Television Broadcasting, reported in 1961 that the Committee's tasks included: illuminating "domestic and foreign policies of the Communist Party and of the Soviet government," "introduction of the radio listeners and television viewers to the best works of literature, music and to the theatrical art of the peoples of the USSR," and "exposing the anti-national essence of bourgeois ideology, morality and reactionary propaganda".[15] By keeping the Committee chairman directly responsible to the Council of Ministers, the state was able to maintain control over all news, educational, cultural, and entertainment programming broadcast over the state apparatus, including Radio Moscow.

Programming Content: An Hour With Radio Moscow

While a history of the broadcasting service is important, a dissection of a one-hour broadcast also yields great insight into Radio Moscow's role in Soviet policy. Typically, a few minutes before the hour, an interval signal, usually the popular tune *Moscow Nights,* would be broadcast to indicate the beginning of programming. On the hour, the Kremlin chimes would be heard, followed by a full news summary. The news summary would usually take into account domestic events beginning with the Communist Party, followed by stories from satellite nations, and condemnations of events in the capitalist world. Following the news, a feature would be presented, often a musical program or commentary on current events. Topics often included the life of the Soviet worker, United States arms policy, or the success of farm programs in the Soviet republics. Musical programs regularly highlighted Russian and Soviet composers and artists.[16] Multiple feature programs were offered throughout the hour, but none compared with *Moscow Mailbag*. For 40 years, until his death in 2005, the English-language program was hosted by Joe Adamov and featured listener questions ranging from the KGB to the artist of a traditional Russian song. The broadcast would be concluded with a recap of various program notes and then the cycle would begin again with *Moscow Nights*.

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[15] Ibid., 31-32.

[16] Martin Ebon, *The Soviet Propaganda Machine* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1987), 277.

News Broadcasting

In the early years of the Cold War, as it had before, Radio Moscow stuck to a news format. Gayle Durham Hollander described some of the important topics in news broadcasts:

> In 1960, *Partiinaya Zhizn* indicated the following major change in procedure: "The central radio stations in Moscow must first of all ensure timely broadcasts of important political information, effective commentary on domestic and foreign events, the organization of various artistic programs…Because radio should give the population the important news before the newspapers do, TASS has been instructed to transmit news immediately to central and local stations."[17]

The "major change in procedure" she describes comes not from the content of the radio programming, but rather the shift in responsibility for major stories from the newspapers to radio stations. Concerning newscasts, Kaftanov described the materials to be found in news bulletins around 1960:

> Materials pertaining to the Seven Year Plan for the Development of the National Economy of the USSR occupy a place of importance in all presentations of "The Latest News", about the progress of work towards the fulfillment of that plan, materials about how the Soviet people are executing the decisions of the Party and the government, information on themes dealing with political, party, Komsomol, and trade union life.[18]

News programs generally stuck to the events within the Communist Party first, then those stories that exemplified Soviet

[17] Gayle Durham Hollander, "Recent Developments in Soviet Radio and Television News Reporting," *The Public Opinion Quarterly* 31 (1967): 360.
[18] Kaftanov, *Radio and Television in the USSR*, 41.

activities around the world, other socialist movements, and events in the Warsaw Pact nations.

Though well past the early Cold War years of the 1950s and 1960s, the newscast of July 1, 1985 provides evidence as to how the Soviet Union portrayed itself over its global mouthpiece. Headlines lead with information about the full session of the Central Committee, followed by details of the meeting of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. Next, a story about the condemnation of the U.S. 'Star Wars' defense plan, a project particularly detested by Moscow, by an international group of physicians. Subsequent stories touched upon another mass meeting in Greece condemning American deployment of missiles to Europe and continuing problems following the Union Carbide disaster in Bhopal, India.

The major global story of the day concerned the release of 39 American hostages from TWA Flight 847. However, the only remote reference to the story was in Radio Moscow's description of U.S. negotiations with the French concerning terrorism, which it described as an attempt at, "military action against a number of sovereign nations and national liberation movements".[19] Likewise, it played down the removal of Grigori Romanov from the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, regarded by many to be Mikhail Gorbachev's major rival. Instead, it stated that he was, "retiring on pension on account of his health".[20] In this way, news briefings were strictly controlled to follow the official government line.

In addition to hourly newscasts, Radio Moscow presented news magazines and special interest commentaries based on current and historical news stories. In the 1985 broadcast, the hourly newscast was followed by *'The Way We See It' A Look at the Soviet Union and the World*, today devoted to contrasting U.S. missile deployment with Soviet policy.[21] Later commentaries dealt with survivors of the atomic bomb in Hiroshima visiting Moscow and thanking the government, "for their tremendous efforts to ease world tensions" and the denunciation of the United

[19] Ebon, *The Soviet Propaganda Machine*, 273-274.
[20] Ibid., 278.
[21] Ibid., 275.

States' negative attitude toward arms negotiations by a British labor union.

Jamming

In addition to the attention that the Soviet government gave to its own international broadcasting, another indication of the medium's importance came in the government's active jamming campaign. In international broadcasting, the act of jamming refers to one station or power deliberately broadcasting on a frequency already in use by another station for the purposes of preventing the signal from being received. While Radio Moscow's signals were rarely jammed by other nations, the Soviet Union actively jammed the broadcasts of Western stations such as the BBC and the Voice of America. The purpose of this was to prevent Soviet citizens from being able to tune in the Western broadcasters, fearing "Western cultural infiltration".[22] Indeed, they may have had cause to worry: the Voice of America estimated 8 million Soviet citizens listened into Western broadcasts.

In response to increased broadcasts directed to the Soviet Union, a campaign of jamming the Voice of America and the BBC from an estimated 150 transmitters within Soviet territory in 1949. While this scale of jamming was effective, it was most certainly not without cost. U.S. Government estimates in 1950 indicated that the Soviet Union was spending $17.5 million a year on jamming, or an amount equal to the Voice of America's total budget. Indeed, a U.S. diplomat speculated that the Soviets, "devoted four times the capital equipment in transmitters and monitoring stations and ten times the manpower to block Western broadcasts" following the Voice of America's increased efforts to circumvent jamming.[23]

Had the Soviet Union not recognized the role that international broadcasting could play in changing domestic public opinion (or conversely, the role it could play in changing Western public opinion), they would not have invested much needed capital in jamming activities from the end of World War II right up until 1989. The United States also recognized this importance and used

[22] Walter L. Hixson, *Parting the Curtain: Propaganda, Culture, and the Cold War, 1945-1961* (New York: St. Martin's P, 1997), 33.
[23] Ibid., 36.

it as a way of tying up Soviet resources in jamming and international broadcasting.

Reception in the United States

It is important to remember that broadcasting is a two-way exchange: the broadcaster transmits and the listener must listen to the signal. With this in mind, what was the reception of Radio Moscow in one of its major targets, the United States? Don D. Smith investigated the impact of Radio Moscow's broadcasts in the late 1960s. In his article "Some Effects of Radio Moscow's North American Broadcasts", Smith revealed that there was a "sizable audience".[24]

Operating on the theory that Radio Moscow's programming was anti-American and did not meet general standards of effective communication, Smith still found that Americans who regularly listened to the programs were, none the less, influenced by what they heard. In a previous survey of general shortwave radio listening habits, he discovered that 9% of the national sample had listened to foreign radio broadcasts within the last year, with 6% of the sample having specifically listened to political or news programming.[25] When those indicating a high interest in international affairs were surveyed, the most mentioned station was Radio Moscow.[26] Though they recognized that the information was biased and propaganda-based, they also noted that such broadcasts were, "useful in (1) making them more aware of what other countries are thinking about the United States, (2) giving them additional information about world affairs, and (3) telling the other side of the story".[27] The majority of this audience was made up of male professionals and those with at least some college education.[28]

In the case of Smith's Radio Moscow study, he found that, despite the listening population's biases about the content of broadcasts, their direction of opinion consistently changed to favor

[24] Don D. Smith, "Some Effects of Radio Moscow's North American Broadcasts," *The Public Opinion Quarterly* 34 (1970): 541.
[25] Ibid., 540.
[26] Ibid., 543.
[27] Ibid., 545.
[28] Ibid., 544.

Moscow's line. Seventy percent of the experimental group had their views toward the Soviet Union and Moscow's policies change for the better, especially those who had held very negative views to begin.[29] One participant commented that the broadcasts made them see that the Soviet Union was not just some, "'monster with atomic bombs in each hand; instead they're human, as concerned with human affairs as we are'".[30]

However, in one of his final conclusions, Smith remarked that the effectiveness of Radio Moscow broadcasts could not completely be attributed to the presentation of information.

> The broadcasts seem to have had an effect, not because of any particular skill in communication, but because conditions in our own [American] society had led the audience to hold unrealistic negative images which, upon actual exposure, were clearly refuted for many of the listeners.[31]

The crux of Smith's point is that many of the respondents were affected by the difference in opinions between Radio Moscow and the American domestic media. As one reply put it, "'When they [Radio Moscow] say something that is different from what you read in American newspapers you begin comparing, and sometimes what they say makes more sense'".[32] Many of those who reported an unexpected change for the better in their opinion of the Soviet Union based on Radio Moscow broadcasts also reported that American media played a role in this change. Their attention to shortwave broadcasts from the Soviet bloc exposed them to other sources, which, on occasion, they found to be credible or even more reasonable than what the American media was saying.

In terms of strictly technical reception in the United States, it is impossible to say how strong signals were received during the 1950s and 1960s. Quality of shortwave signals is subject to a host

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[29] Ibid., 546.
[30] Ibid., 549.
[31] Ibid., 550.
[32] Don D. Smith, "America's Short-Wave Audience: Twenty-Five Years Later," *The Public Opinion Quarterly* 33 (1969): 545.

of variables, including transmitting power, atmospheric conditions (including weather), local terrain, and interference from other stations on nearby frequencies. There are indications that Radio Moscow's North American Service was consistently available throughout the Continental United States, as reported by various newspapers, university researchers, and regular listeners.[33]

While Radio Moscow's in-house surveys have not yet surfaced, the audience research of the major American broadcasters has. The period studied by Smith was just the beginning of larger-scale audience research by the Voice of America and Radio Liberty. Methodology, and a system by which to interview travelers from the Soviet Union, was only seriously worked out by 1970. Until then, Soviet travelers in the West were interviewed on an *ad hoc* basis, only allowing basic inferences about listening habits.[34] However, in the period between 1972 and 1990, the Soviet Area Audience and Opinion Research (SAAOR) unit of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty was able to interview upwards of 50,000 Soviet travelers in the West and more than 25,000 legal immigrants.[35]

The first audience quantification using the system was between 1970 and 1972, in which SAAOR estimated that the Voice of America reached 23% and Radio Liberty 11% of the Soviet adult population weekly. By 1980, the VOA was estimated to reach 15% and Radio Liberty, 8%.[36] These numbers remained consistent throughout the 1980s and 1990s for the VOA. However, Radio Liberty experienced a climb from 7% in 1980 to 10% in 1985. This was followed by a sharp increase in listeners in 1989 to around 17% of the adult Soviet population.[37] This is due to the cessation of Soviet jamming of the station that had been constant for decades. Overall, RFE/RL research of listening habits found that audiences were dominated by urban males between ages

[33] Edna C. Sorber, "An Analysis of the Persuasion Used in Radio Moscow's North American Service" diss. Univ. of Wisconsin, 1959, 139.
[34] R. Eugene Parta, *Discovering the Hidden Listener: an Empirical Assessment of Radio Liberty and Western Broadcasting to the USSR During the Cold War* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 2007), 2.
[35] Ibid., 3.
[36] Ibid., 5.
[37] Ibid., 8.

30 and 50, concentrated around Moscow, Leningrad, the Baltics, and Trans-Caucuses.

While these estimates have been disputed by some, the statistics still show that there was a far greater audience to Western radio stations such as the Voice of America and Radio Liberty in the Soviet Union than there was for Soviet broadcasts in the United States. Between 1970 and 1970, SAAOR found that the VOA was reaching around 23% of the Soviet adult population. However, Smith found that only 9% of the U.S. population listened to international radio overall, and not one specific station.

Conclusions

What conclusions can be drawn about Radio Moscow's use in the early Cold War? Perhaps the most important thing about Radio Moscow's international services was the value placed on them by the Soviet Government. Even without a budgetary measure of value, it is apparent that Radio Moscow was a vital part of the Soviet broadcasting apparatus from the mid-1930s. By 1932, Soviet radio was broadcasting abroad in 11 languages, rising to 29 by the close of the War. Officials in the Kremlin saw that shortwave broadcasts were a way to spread Soviet opinion and views on international affairs and to counteract the influence of the capitalist system.

The link between the Soviet Government and Radio Moscow is indisputable – the station was operated by the government under the State Committee on Radio and Television Broadcasting, within the central radio broadcasting system. News broadcasts, a staple of Radio Moscow's programming since the Great Patriotic War, were still subject to pre-broadcast censorship by the government and concentrated on party and government news.

Finally, though the audience for Radio Moscow's broadcasts was rather insignificant in the United States, the station did manage to reach some of its goals. Though listeners reported that they did not experience a change of heart regarding the Soviet Union, they did report that some of their overall opinions had changed. In the end, the overall listenership to Radio Moscow was relatively small, seeing as the total nationwide audience for all international political broadcasting in November of 1966 equaled

2% of Americans, or about 2 million people. While listeners reported one of their top favorites to be Radio Moscow, the station's listener base would be significantly less than 2 million, and thus not drastically altering overall U.S. public opinion. This is in sharp contrast to the Soviet audience for Radio Liberty and the Voice of America. However, Radio Moscow's value outside of the United States is relatively unknown. Many throughout the world, particularly in the developing world, tuned in regularly to Moscow's broadcasts.

Despite a relatively small group of listeners in the United States and the role of censorship played in listeners' opinions, the role of Radio Moscow in the USSR's foreign policy apparatus cannot be underplayed. The attention paid to Radio Moscow by the central government and its rapid development through the 1930s and 1940s provides compelling evidence for its value to the state. The station's broadcasts provided invaluable insight into Soviet life for Western governments and the general public.

Tom Stoppard's *The Coast of Utopia* in Russia: Cultural Adaptation

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Tom Stoppard's theatrical trilogy *The Coast of Utopia* (in Russian Берег Утопии) premiered in London in 2002. Since that time, it has been performed in New York, and, just recently, in Moscow at the RAMT, the National Youth Theatre. The last performance was in the beginning of April 2008. In March, I was privileged enough to be able to go see the performance. I had wanted to see the plays on stage ever since I read the trilogy the year before and it particularly interested to me to see the performance in Russian. I was curious to discover what Russians would think of these Tony-award-winning plays which, while written by an Englishman, have a profoundly Russian subject matter.

The Coast of Utopia recounts the lives of several early Russian revolutionaries, among them Alexander Herzen (in Russian Герцен) and Michael Bakunin, as well as those of their friends and peers, such as the author Ivan Turgenev and the literary critic Vissarion Belinsky. Each play runs for about three hours, and though they are meant to be able to stand alone they work best as a whole. In Moscow they were always shown together, one after the next from noon until almost eleven at night.

The first play, *Voyage*, takes place between 1833 and 1844, in a variety of places including "Premukhino, the Bakunin estate,"[1] and "Moscow."[2] *Voyage* deals mostly with Michael Bakunin's youth and his search to find himself through the study of philosophy, which he does not really understand but cites with abandon. Finally, Bakunin decides that "revolution is his new philosophy of self-fulfillment,"[3] thus setting his path to the future. Belinsky is also important in this play in his attempt to establish himself as a literary critic. Herzen is also present as a young writer and activist. In addition, Bakunin's parents and four sisters play significant roles.

The second play, *Shipwreck*, takes place "between 1846 and 1852 at Sokolovo, a gentleman's estate fifteen miles outside Moscow; Salzbrunn, Germany, Paris; Dresden; and Nice."[4] The most prominent character in this play is Alexander Herzen. The story recounts the experiences that he and his wife, Natalie, encounter while living in Western Europe (mainly in Paris), where they are allowed to go to seek medical aid for their younger son, Kolya, who is deaf. Herzen spends much time discussing revolutionary theory and even witnesses firsthand the forming of the 2nd Republic in France, as well as its fall. Bakunin is also present in this play; he takes part in the revolutions that Herzen discusses and eventually is sent to prison in Siberia for this. Turgenev and Belinsky are present, though Belinsky dies during the time covered by the play. There are also some characters which appear only in this play, such as George and Emma Herwegh, a German revolutionary poet and his devoted wife. The play ends with Kolya's tragic death in a shipwreck and the subsequent death of Natalie. As the play ends, Herzen leaves for England with his surviving children.

Salvage, the third installment of the trilogy, takes place between 1853[5] and 1868.[6] In this play Herzen continues to be the

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[1] Tom Stoppard, *Voyage*, in *The Coast of Utopia* (New York: Grove Press, 2002), 1.
[2] Ibid., 52.
[3] Ibid., 109.
[4] Tom Stoppard, *Shipwreck*, in *The Coast of Utopia* (New York: Grove Press, 2002), xiii.
[5] Tom Stoppard, *Salvage*, in *The Coast of Utopia* (New York: Grove Press, 2002), 1.

main character and focus. The action follows his efforts to publish insurrectionary newspapers from abroad, as well as his complicated family situation, in which for a while he is sharing the wife of his friend Nicolas Ogarev, (whose name is also Natalie.) The play ends shortly before his death; the last scene is a dream of Herzen's in which Turgenev and Karl Marx are discussing the future of Russia and that of the world in general.

Due to their complexity, any interpretation of these plays relies heavily on the reader's or spectator's preunderstanding. That is to say, the way in which the trilogy is appreciated is highly dependant on the spectator's level of background knowledge about the subject. In Richard E. Palmer's essay "Hermeneuein and Hermeneia: The Modern Significance of their Ancient Usage," he explains hermeneutic preunderstanding as thus:

> Explanatory interpretation makes us aware that explanation is contextual, is "horizonal." It must be made within a horizon of already granted meanings and intentions. In hermeneutics, this area of assumed understanding is called preunderstanding. One may fruitfully ask what preunderstanding is necessary in order to understand the (given) text. … It might be asked what horizon of interpretation a great literary text inhabits, and how the horizon of an individual's own world of intentions, hopes, and preinterpretations is related to it.[7]

Clearly, not every viewer of Stoppard's trilogy will interpret or understand it in the same way. The plays, concerned as they are with a particular aspect of Russian and European history, require some familiarity with Russian history, as well as philosophy and the history of socialism, to be understood. A viewer whose preunderstanding emphasizes one of these aspects over another will thus interpret the play differently than someone whose preunderstanding emphasizes a different aspect. A viewer who is completely unfamiliar with this era of history may not get anything from these plays at all.

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[6] Ibid., 111.
[7] Richard E. Palmer, *Hermeneutics* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1969), 25.

One example of this is the difference in comprehension of one theme in *Voyage* that my mother and I experienced. She read the play before I did and found it hard to get through. One thing that puzzled her was the attestation of certain characters that Russia has no literature (except for that written by Pushkin.)

In *Voyage,* the following discussion occurs:

> ALEXANDER: … They write better Russian than I do – what a shame there's nothing worth reading (*over his daughters' protests),* apart from…
> DAUGHTERS: Pushkin!
> ALEXANDER: … Pushkin.[8]

This theme is reprised several times over the course of the play, as Belinsky makes it his thesis that, "we have no literature."[9] He argues that, for the most part, what is published in Russia (in his era) is an imitation of Western literature and, furthermore, that should Russia develop its own literary tradition, "literature can *replace*, can actually *become* Russia! It can be greater and more real than the external reality."[10] Even in this monologue, though, he acknowledges that there is, "Pushkin, or Gogol's new stories, definitely Gogol, and there's more to come."[11] Being, as I am, a student of Russian literature, this statement makes sense to me. My mother, though, due to her lack of knowledge of the subject, remains confused. I understood that the fact that the scene took place in the 1830's means that many of the most well-known Russian authors had not yet begun to write, but she did not.

Likewise, understanding something about the link between romanticism and the rise of nationalism is key to understanding Belinksy's argument that a national literary tradition would create a new Russia and bring her grandeur, and a short article about this subject was apparently included in the play's program when it was performed in New York to aid the spectators in their appreciation.

But what sort of preunderstanding would a Muscovite viewer of Stoppard's trilogy bring to the work? Presumably, the

[8] Stoppard, *Voyage*, 2.
[9] Ibid., 34.
[10] Ibid., 80.
[11] Ibid., 81.

Russian spectators would better know the historical era. They would have heard of Herzen and Bakunin and would probably not need to ask why none of the characters, in their discussions of Russian literature of the 1830s, were mentioning Tolstoy or Dostoevsky. But what more would they know? And what would they think of the whole concept in the first place? Would they be pleased that an Englishman had taken interest in their history, or would they feel that it was not his place to write about a foreign culture in such detail? If Stoppard's research was flawed, would they notice? Would mistakes bother them?

Of course, the answers to these questions depend on the individual spectator. Nonetheless, it seems that Russian audiences generally like *The Coast of Utopia*. My host sister in Moscow affirms that at least *Voyage* has a Chekhovian feel to it, an opinion echoed by some critics. "Время в спектакле постоянно возвращается к каким-то исходным точкам и сюжетам (излюбленный стоппардовский 'флэш-бэк'). Для театра такие сюжеты — 'чеховский'…"[12] (Time in this show is continually returning to some initial starting point and subject, Stoppard's beloved "flash back." In theatre, such a "Chekhovian" subject…). This article from *The Banner* (*Znamya*) goes on to point out that Chekhov's plays have also been performed on the stage at the National Youth Theatre and suggests that Stoppard's trilogy is not out of place there.

In fact, it seems that many consider *The Coast of Utopia* very apt and appropriate to contemporary Russia. An article in "More Intelligent Life" discusses this:

> "What kind of literature and what kind of life is the same question," as Belinsky says in the play. It is still the same in Russia today. Borodin's production has everything to do with modern Russian life, its ideas and ideals, its comprehension of the past and contemplation of the future…Russian state ideologists are hard at work trying to persuade themselves and the country that democracy and respect for individual rights and liberty are of no use to its people, that Russia always prospered when it was ruled by

[12] Svetlana Vasilieva, "Tom Stoppard. Bereg Utopii," *The Banner* 3 (2008) <http://magazines.russ.ru/znamia/2008/3/vas25.html>

> despotic tsars and that there is nothing in Russian history to be embarrassed about. The characters have returned to a country where their dreams about justice and freedom evoke mostly sneers, whereas Nicholas I, one of Russia's most senseless autocrats, evokes sympathy and respect. “I'd love to read an article by Herzen, with his lacerating wit, about contemporary Russia,” Stoppard says.[13]

According to this same article, the spectators after the first Russian performance argued “not about the merits of the production, but about what has been said on stage. This surprises Stoppard: "It is as if people are responding to statements. They seem to imply that my plays fill some sort of gap-I don't quite believe it."[14]

It’s true that names such as Herzen’s are familiar in Russia, but the significance of these historical figures was changed during the Soviet era. The article goes on to say that Isaiah Berlin, who inspired Stoppard's interest in Herzen, wrote that "the singular irony of history was that Herzen—who wanted individual liberty more than happiness, or efficiency or justice, and denounced organized planning, economic centralization and governmental authority—was canonized by the Soviet government,” and that “the Soviet and post-Soviet eras also deformed the language that expressed those sentiments. Words such as "honor" and "duty" were first extolled and abused by the Communists then turned into a joke by their successors. Stoppard's trilogy has not only taken off layers of bronze paint from Herzen or Belinsky and brought them back to life, it has rehabilitated their language.”[15]

During the rehearsal period for *Coast of Utopia,* in order to help the actors understand the characters that they were to play, Stoppard organized trips to Premukhino, the Bakunin family estate, and also to Herzen’s hometown, where they cleaned up an old statue of Herzen and his friend Ogarev, also a prominent character in *Coast of Utopia*. Thus, although the actors’ preunderstanding of

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[13] “Stoppard In Moscow: ‘The Coast of Utopia’ Returns Home,” *Intelligent Life Magazine* (Dec. 2008), <http://www.moreintelligentlife.com/story/stoppard-moscow>

[14] Ibid.

[15] Ibid.

the subject may have labeled the trilogy's heroes as proto-Marxists, through their historical exploration and the trilogy itself they came to see the characters as individuals with their own ideas, and, most importantly, their own lives. The Znamya article agrees with this. "По сцене ходят не "портреты", а живые, милые люди."[16] ("Portraits don't walk out on the stage, but rather living, likeable people").

When I went to see the show the theatre was almost full and the spectators seemed to be enjoying themselves. It seems that the critics like the plays well enough, too. I would have liked to be able to interview more individual Russians about their impressions and opinions, though. As thus, my attempts at understanding *The Coast of Utopia*'s place in Russian society is far from complete. I am eager to learn more and hope to do so soon.

[16] Vasilieva, "Tom Stoppard. Bereg Utopii."

Students of the Foreign[1]

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I would like to offer an afterword to this collection of essays with the hope of briefly conceptualizing these two meetings of Student-Scholars and offering some suggestions on how to approach student-scholarship from a foreign point of view.

First of all – what is a Student-Scholar? To being with, the very notion of a "student-scholar" or "student-scholarship" is a contradiction in terms in its combination of two seemingly diametrically opposed concepts. At first glace, we could define this difference between what either party knows. We are able to recognize Scholars because they possess knowledge that is "authorized," "professional," and "intellectually mature" in contradistinction to the Student's knowledge, which is "unauthorized," "amateurish," intellectually "childish," or "naïve." In fact, one Ivy League graduate school locates the very point at which a Student transitions into a Scholar by stating that the Ph.D. dissertation "heralds your transformation from a consumer to a producer of knowledge." Thus, the authorization of Students to call themselves Scholars occurs through the academic practices of completing graduate programs, publishing in professional journals,

[1] A version of the following essay was presented at the Russian State University for the Humanities colloquium for Student-Scholars entitled "From a Foreign Point of View: Student Readings of Russian and American Culture" on 24 April 2008. "Students of the Foreign" was presented as the opening remarks to the gathering.

reviewing the research of one's peers, presenting research at professional conferences, keeping in mind all the while that these rites of passages are controlled and supervised by an academy populated by those who have already completed it.

Yet, recent trends in literary criticism have begun to call into question the transcendental nature of rigid binary pairs, many of which are located in the reading and interpretation of cultural texts. Roland Barthes' "The Death of the Author" fixes as the object of his criticism the binarism of "authorized" and "unauthorized" interpretation of a text, connecting "authorized" readings with the sanctified personality of the "Author-God." He explains:

> To give a text an Author is to impose a limit on that text, to furnish it with a final signified, to close the writing. . . . In the multiplicity of writing, everything is to be *disentangled,* nothing *deciphered;* the structure can be followed, 'run' (like the thread of a stocking) at every point and at every level, but there is nothing beneath: the space of writing is to be ranged over, not pierced; writing ceaselessly posits meaning ceaselessly to evaporate it, carrying out a systematic exemption of meaning.[2]

Rather than approaching our cultural texts in hopes of "deciphering" fixed meanings, we are then compelled to view what we are researching as a "multi-dimensional space in which a variety of writings, none of them original, blend and clash." What does this have to say to the Student-Scholar distinction? It compels us to move towards the realization that the preferencing of "authorized" Scholarly readings over "unauthorized" Student ones emerges out of the distinction between the processes which authorized who is permitted to "produce" knowledge and who is forced to "consume" it, disregarding the majority of readings, interpretations, interactions, intersections, denials, refusals, affirmations, inspirations, and discoveries that occur during these moments of "unauthorized" Student readings. The move away from an understanding of the "work" as singular, monolithic, and

[2] Roland Barthes, "The Death of the Author," *Image-Music-Text,* trans. Stephen Heath (NY: Hill and Wang, 1977), 147.

coherent towards the valuation of the subjectivity of the reader and his or her multiple points of view threatens the clarity and stability of the Student-Scholar distinction if the "authorized," "legitimized," "mature" scholarly readings turn out to be only one voice in the polyphony of possible readings. Thus, the decentralization and deauthorization of knowledge from the academy commemorates the "Death of the Scholar" and the "Birth of the Student," and it is in this movement away from the Scholar-God unlocking the meanings of texts that the variety of readings that texts sustain necessitates the creation of a colloquium dedicated to Student-Scholarship, a conference where Student-Scholars are permitted to explore their own subjectivities, suspended in a particular historical, cultural, and linguistic moment.

This brings me to my second question – what does it mean to be a Student of the Foreign? Perhaps, it would be better to first ask, can one be a *Scholar* of the Foreign? This undoubtedly sounds strange, for someone calling themselves a Scholar of the Foreign makes a claim of authority over that which is epistemologically not their own. A Scholar of a foreign culture does not possess a native's knowledge, language, customs, or culture, and consequently is an intruder, an interloper, claiming a position of authority and privilege that may fundamentally differ from the perspectives generated from within the culture. We can easily put the Foreigner-Native opposition along the same axis as we have with the Student-Scholar. Taking America, for example, I as a native in the old view would have privileged positions, perspectives, and knowledge of American culture, authorized primarily by the fact that I was born in the United States, possess an insider's knowledge of its language, history, customs, and culture, and myself actively participate in and prolong its traditions and cultural processes. In comparison with my readings of American life, the interpretations generated beyond the country's borders would then be unauthorized until having undergone the American right of passage of being a citizens, thus, making the transition from possessing outsider's to insider's knowledge.

If we put this Foreign-Native paradigm under the same scrutiny, however, one immediately comes to realize that the reason why all of us are here today is because one of the most

valuable routes to achieving higher levels of understanding about our own cultures and the foreign ones that we study is intimately connected to searching out, collecting, and evaluating as many possible readings of our respective cultures as possible, or put differently, seeing ourselves from a Foreign Point of View. We can see that those of us who study the Foreign, research the Foreign, and dive deep into the minutia of the Foreign that may otherwise be overlooked by Natives – we generate the very multiplicity of readings that the post-structuralist Student-Scholar calls for, mindful that the identity of the texts we study is ever unstable, shifting, and amorphous and – strangely – dependent upon and constituted by us. The readings generated through interactions with the foreign not only reconstitute, reconstrue, and reenvision the text, but are in fact integral to its being.

So what I would like to propose, then, is that those of us who study that which is not our own – that which is alien, strange, different, or, simply, foreign – are constantly reminded of our status as Students with a capital S, reminded that we are going to be lifelong consumers of the knowledge of the other. We all participated in these two conferences to meditate upon, call attention to, and celebrate the intersections and divergences of different cultures and what we have to teach each other. Each of us simultaneously embodied the roles of Students and Scholars and were transformed into Students of that which is our own. In other words, the participants of both conferences collectively took the first, crucial step towards an understanding of just exactly what it means to be a Student of the Foreign